Vol. XXII. No. 87 *September 1933*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. The Religious Situation in Spain .... *E. Allison Peers*

II. Essential Oils and Medicinal Herbs *Joseph Reilly*

III. Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh *Aubrey Gwynn*

IV. Some Irish Bardic Poems—No. 27 .... *Lambert McKenna*

V. Credit Reform Schemes .... *Henry Somerville*

VI. Father Thomas Burke, O.P. .... *M. H. Gaffney*

VII. Irish Benedictines in Nuremberg .... *Patrick J. Barry*

VIII. Schools of Catholic Action .... *Daniel A. Lord*

IX. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan .... *James J. Walsh*

X. The Suppression of the Jesuits .... *John MacErlean*

XI. International Congress of Catholic Education *T. Corcoran*

XII. Reviews of Books

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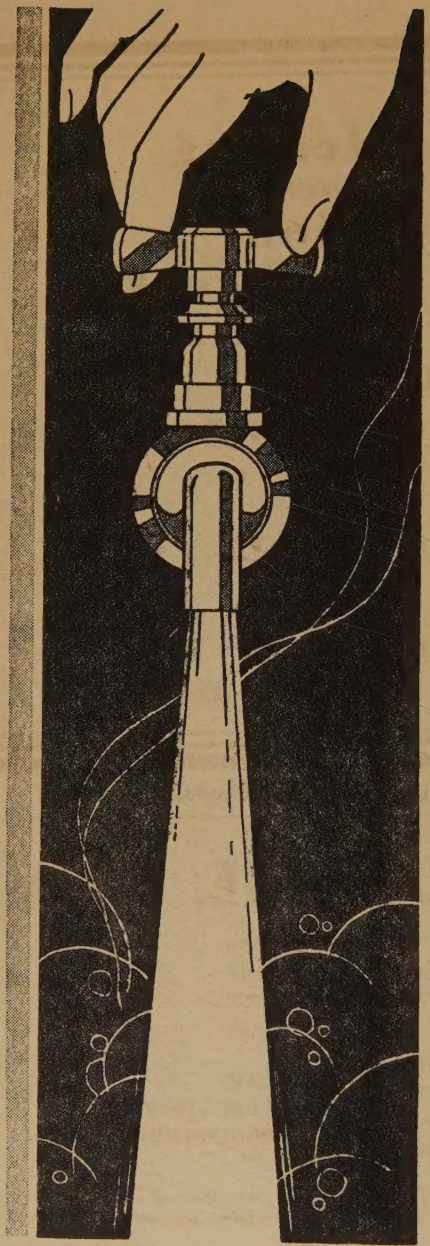

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VOL. XXII No. 87

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1933

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I. THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN SPAIN ...	*Professor E. Allison Peers, M.A.*	361
II. ESSENTIAL OILS AND MEDICINAL HERBS	*Professor Joseph Reilly, D.Sc.*	373
III. RICHARD FITZRALPH, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH	*Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	389
IV. SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 27	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	406
V. CREDIT REFORM SCHEMES	*Henry Somerville, M.A.*	409
VI. FATHER THOMAS BURKE, O.P.	*M. H. Gaffney, O.P.*	421
VII. IRISH BENEDICTINES IN NUREMBERG	*Patrick J. Barry, Ph.D.*	435
VIII. SCHOOLS OF CATHOLIC ACTION	*Daniel A. Lord, S.J.*	454
IX. EDMUND BAILEY O'CALLAGHAN	*James J. Walsh, M.D.*	468
X. CLEMENT XIV AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS	*John MacErlean, S.J.*	480
XI. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION	*Professor T. Corcoran, S.J.*	494

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

La Sculpture irlandaise, 499.—Teresa Neumann, 503.—Konnersreuth, 503.—Sidonius Apollinaris, 504.—Saint Jérome, 506.—From Faith to Faith, 508.—Dilemma of John Haughton Steele, 508.—Ivan the Terrible, 509.—Edward Hincks, 510.—Ernest Psichari, 512.—Dictionary of the Irish Language, 513.—Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, 517.—The Theory of Unemployment, 518.—Economics of Imperfect Competition, 519.—Soviet Economic Policy in the East, 521.—St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, 522.—Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, 523.—The O'Dwyers of Kilnamanagh, 524.—History of the Greek World, 525.—Missions and Missionaries, 527.—L'Eglise en Marche, 527.—Les Prêtres des Missions Etrangères, 527.—L'Oeuvre civilisatrice et scientifique des Missionnaires catholiques, 527.—Le Répertoire africain, 527.—Catholic Mission Theory, 528.—La Communauté des Puissances, 529.—Philosophie économique, 531.—Le Travail, 531.—The Expanding Universe, 533.—Science and Revelation,534.

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THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN SPAIN

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool

ON May 17, 1933, by 278 votes to 50, the Cortes of the Spanish Republic passed the "Ley de Confesiones y Congregaciones Religiosas," and on June 2, after so long an interval that many anticipated a political crisis of the first magnitude, the law was approved by the President of the Republic. The placing upon the statute-book of a measure containing so many provisions deplored even by non-Catholics brings to an end a chapter in the history of the new *régime* which posterity, I believe, will regard as an unmitigated blot upon it. This seems, therefore, an appropriate moment to look back upon the two and a half years that have elapsed since the advent of the Spanish Republic and to examine the religious situation as it appears in the light of them. Before doing this I desire to make it perfectly clear, in the first place, that I am in no way opposed to the present *régime* in Spain as such—I have, indeed, written warmly in admiration of much that it has accomplished—and, in the second place, that I write here, and elsewhere, as a close and independent observer, spending several months each year in Spain, and endeavouring to obtain a balanced and impartial view of the progress of the country. Some of my readers with whose general opinions I should be closely in agreement may not agree with all my conclusions, but I ask them at least to accept these as coming from one who aspires, above all else, to be a persevering student of things as they are and an honest seeker after truth.

I

Although extensive reference has been made in STUDIES to recent events in Spain, it may be of service to some

readers if I first attempt a brief summary of the chief happenings in the religious controversy which has followed the advent of the Republic. These extend over the entire period of its existence, for the Provisional Government had not been a week in power before it announced the secularization of cemeteries, the cancellation of official church parades in the army, and a number of other innovations some of which violated the provisions of the Concordat. Of the eleven members of the Provisional Government, only two (Sr. Alcalá Zamora and Sr. Maura) were believed to be definitely opposed to anti-clerical measures, while at least four were known to be in favour of such measures and two more were thought likely to support them. At the beginning of May 1931 came a disastrous period which showed that the extremists of the Left believed they could act with impunity. Following upon the publication of a pastoral letter by Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Toledo (May 6), which was commented upon severely by the Government (May 8), a series of mob attacks took place upon churches and religious houses in Madrid and several provincial cities (May 11-13). Enumeration of the whole of the damage caused is not possible : it suffices to mention, as regards Madrid, the destruction of the Jesuit Church in the Calle de la Flor and the Carmelite Church in the Plaza de España, and, as regards the provinces, the wholesale destructions in Málaga, Murcia and Seville. Women were not respected and nuns were driven from their convents to spend the night where they could. Crowds looked on at the conflagrations, often preventing the firemen, by sheer force, from extinguishing the flames. The Government contributed to the situation by suspending the Catholic newspaper *El Debate*, and took no exemplary disciplinary action against the authors of the outrages, such as it has since taken against those who threatened its own security. Many vague arrests were made, but there were no trials, and a reassuring statement by the then Prime Minister that

such scenes would not again be witnessed has been belied by frequent sporadic anti-clerical outbreaks to which space will not permit detailed reference.

The next events were the expulsion of the Bishop of Vitoria from Spain, followed by that of the Archbishop of Toledo. The Holy See refused its *placet* to the Ambassador proposed by the Spanish Government and declared that no Ambassador would be received until the security of the lives and property of Catholics was guaranteed by the Government.

By this time the elections to the Constituent Cortes of the Republic were over and the publication of the draft of the proposed new Constitution preluded a period of fierce conflict. With some three hundred Radicals, Socialists and Radical-Socialists guaranteeing a safe majority in a chamber of 462 members, it was clear that some measure of disestablishment was inevitable. The draft, however, as revised by the parliamentary committee of which Sr. Jiménez de Asúa was chairman, went much farther than might have been expected. The Religious Orders, for example, were all to be dissolved and their property confiscated, a proposal so unspeakably insane ("madness," said *The Times*, "unworthy of the Republic") that it found little favour outside the extreme Left. The debates on the new Constitution occupied nearly three months, and before it was finally voted, on December 9, 1931, the article dealing with religion brought about a major crisis in the Government. Sr. Alcalá Zamora and Sr. Maura both had the courage to vote against the article in its modified form, which was passed (October 14) by 178 votes to 59 in a house in which three members of the Government and nearly half the deputies refrained from voting or were absent. The two ministers just referred to resigned their portfolios when the result of the voting was announced, and the Basque and Navarran deputies, as a mark of protest, took no further part in the discussions.

The article as finally approved placed all "religious confessions" in the category of "associations," to be governed by a special law; abolished the payment of the clergy at the conclusion of a period not greater than two years; dissolved those Religious Orders "which impose . . . a special vow of obedience to any other authority than the legitimate authority of the State"; and crippled the remaining Orders by a number of restrictions to their activity—adding finally, presumably to give an excuse for spoliation at a later date, "their possessions may be nationalized."

As Sr. Azaña, that implacable anti-clerical who now became Prime Minister, had openly declared, the clause referring to the "special vow" had reference to the Society of Jesus. Between October 14 and the publication, on January 24, 1932, of the decree ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits, ample proof appeared of the invalidity of the reference, and many unprejudiced persons, of all shades of opinion, realized that the Spanish Jesuits were being thrown to the extremists on a plea of legality which would not for a moment bear examination. As this subject has been fully treated in STUDIES,[1] I pass it over thus briefly.

Leaving aside the other articles of the Constitution which attack religious principles, such as those on marriage and divorce, the abolition of certain public holidays corresponding to festivals of the Church, and various long suspensions of Catholic newspapers, I pass over ten months of political turmoil and come to December 1932, when the text of the proposed "Ley de Confesiones y Congregaciones Religiosas" was submitted to the Cortes. Much of this, as following upon Articles 26 and 27 of the Constitution, was, naturally, anticipated, and the discussion of it in the Cortes was not as long as might have been expected. For the discussion was not begun until February and the delays that took place during its

[1] March 1932, pp. 88-104.

progress were caused chiefly by political motives, the parties opposed to the Government endeavouring to force a general election upon it by obstructing business.

The first section of the law guarantees "liberty of conscience and worship" in Spain, declares that the State has no "official religion," allows all confessions to worship within their own buildings, but not outside save with special sanction from the Government. The second section allows all confessions to appoint their own ministers and other officers, "who must be Spaniards," however, and may not be recognized by the State "should a person be elected who might be a danger to its order or security." Changes in the territorial demarcations of religious confessions must be submitted to the Government before they become effective.

The third section follows the Constitution in declaring that all the possessions held by religious bodies belong to the State, "under whose safeguard" they are held. It is to be hoped that the safeguard may from now onward become effective, but the text of the law is much more interested in inventories, taxation and the right of the State to dispose of such possessions and alienate them than with guarantees of safety. In the rest of this long section we learn, among other things, that "the State will encourage the creation of museums for ecclesiastical bodies" (I translate literally from the Spanish, but there seems to be a Russian ring about the phrase !), and that, after the promulgation of this law, any property that the Catholic Church or other religious bodies may acquire is to be considered as private property, but only in so far as it is necessary for religious ends. A short section permits "churches" to "found and direct establishments for instruction in their respective doctrines and for the training of their ministers"; the State, by means of inspection, will see that none of them "teach doctrines which threaten the safety of the Republic."

After a single article regulating the conduct of bene-

ficent institutions, a long final section deals witb Religious Orders. These must exercise "no kind of political activity," under pain of dissolution at the will of the Cortes. All Orders must be registered as associations, and submit copies of their statutes, a statement of the "aims" of each of their "houses or residences," an inventory of their possessions, the names of their superiors (who must be Spanish), the names of their members (at least two-thirds of whom must be Spanish) and a list of the possessions which each member has brought to the Order. These details must be kept up to date, and each "house or residence" must submit its books and annual balance-sheet for inspection.

No Order may engage in "commerce, industry or agricultural exploitation" either directly or through an intermediate party, though it may grow food for its own consumption. No Order may engage in teaching, apart from the training of its own members, and State inspection of schools will prevent the formation of secondary schools by the Orders through the intermediacy of lay folk.

The last article provides that all persons entering a Religious Order shall first make a statement of what possessions they are bringing to it, and promises State protection for any member of an Order who wishes to leave it, "notwithstanding a vow or promise to the contrary." In this latter case, the Order "shall be obliged to return to him all that he has brought or ceded to it, less a deduction for use." On this eminently business-like statement the text of the law comes to an end.

II

It is natural that so iniquitous a measure should have called forth innumerable protests in Catholic Spain, which, if it was unprepared for the terrible events of May 1931, has long since awakened to a realization of the nature of Sr. Azaña's government. During the latter weeks of the debate in the Cortes, and during the period

which elapsed between the ratification of the law by the Cortes and its approval by the President of the Republic, a great volume of protests reached the ex-Royal Palace at Madrid from meetings, societies and individuals; on May 25 the Spanish Metropolitans issued a collective letter which enumerated the chief of the recent anti-clerical laws and the provocative actions committed by the Government; while on June 3 an encyclical known as *Dilectissima nobis* reiterated the grief of the Holy Father at the promulgation of laws hostile to the Church and, in particular, at that of the most recent of them.

Rather than summarize and comment upon the protests against this particular piece of legislation, I am anxious to consider the events of the last two and a half years as one whole and then to attempt a glance into the future.

The reason that Spanish Catholics were taken by surprise in May 1931 is no doubt the comparative immunity in which they had lived since the promulgation of the Constitution of 1876: save for the short periods 1873-5 and 1909-12 there has been peace between Church and State in Spain for almost as long as anyone living can remember. But it must not be forgotten that in few countries has the Church suffered more persecution than in the "most Catholic country in Europe." Five times in less than two centuries have the Jesuits been expelled from Spain: in 1767, 1820, 1835, 1868 and 1932. Even apart from the spoliation and suppression of religious houses under Napoleon in 1808, worse scenes have been witnessed than in 1931: in 1823, for example, when the septuagenarian Bishop of Vich was shot, together with over twenty priests and religious, or in the years following the death of Ferdinand VII, which were marked by riots of quite unprecedented violence. Over a thousand small religious communities were suppressed in 1835; in 1841 two archbishops were expelled from Spain; on the abdication of Isabel II, in 1868, bishops were imprisoned, churches and convents burned, and other churches closed

by authority. So one might go on throughout the chequered history of the nineteenth century, when action and reaction held alternate sway and lost ground was soon recaptured.

It might be thought, then, by those who were at first cast down by the apparent victory of the anti-clericals, that there would soon follow a counter-attack and a rout. Others, however, might point out that there is a finality about recent events which has been lacking at the epochs which we have mentioned. The present anti-clerical measures, they might remind us, are associated with a change of *régime* which has all the appearances of being permanent. And again, the enemies of the Church in Spain, if not more numerous, are certainly more extreme, more persevering, and above all more constructive in their enmity than they have ever been before. They are not merely possessed by an insane fury to destroy what they find repugnant; they are eager to attempt to build up something in its place. The cry is not merely: "Down with the priests!" The cry is: "Make Spain the Russia of the West!"

There is a good deal of reason in this. Anyone who takes the trouble to read Spanish Anarchist and Communist newspapers and pamphlets, and to inform himself as to the strength and efficiency of the organization of these bodies, will realize that Spain has never before been in so critical a position. Further, the situation is far from encouraging even within the Republic as at present constituted. The change of *régime* may have come too soon, as some think, but it came late enough to establish itself with some degree of security. A return of the Monarchy would no doubt bring an immediate reversal of anti-Catholic legislation, but who seriously contemplates the possibility of a speedy Restoration save as a rebound from a Communist Dictatorship or some allied form of Red Terror? And, within the Republic, the most dominant personalities—these most likely to impose

their will on parliament and people—are to be found on the Left rather than on the Right. Even Articles 26 and 27 of the Constitution, as we have seen, were a compromise in favour of Catholic opinion. Having gained some part of their wishes, it may well be asked, will not the anti-clericals of the Left work ceaselessly till they obtain still more?

III

In spite of the reasonableness of these arguments, I believe that the long lane of the last two and a half years has started upon its turning. While I do not anticipate an immediate or a spectacular reaction—nor for that matter should I desire it—I can see every reason why Catholics in Spain should be optimistic.

In the first place, Spain is undoubtedly filled with a sincere desire for progress, especially in education. It is well known that, with the exception of a few outstanding secular teachers, the best Spanish educators have been the religious. The foremost men in Spain to-day received their early education in the schools of the Religious Orders. The average man who is anxious for his children to be well educated sends them to these same schools. Nothing is more striking, as one talks to people in Spain about the Law of Congregations, than their sincere distress at being deprived of the best schools in the country.

Now the Government claims that it can provide adequate substitutes for these schools within the few months that it has allowed itself for doing so. In a long and interesting speech last May, shortly before he was transferred from the Education Department to the Foreign Office, Sr. de los Ríos described it as an easy task to absorb the 350,900 children who attend the primary schools of the Orders: he would merely create 7,000 new schools before the end of the year! He had already planned to create 4,000 of these, and the municipalities would no doubt help him with the rest. As to secondary education,

the Orders were educating 17,098 pupils: to provide for these would be a simple matter of founding twenty *institutos* and fifty *colegios subvencionados*. Now, although "founding" and "creating" schools is not such a difficult proceeding when those verbs are euphemisms for "confiscating" and "annexing," not all the schools can be provided in this way, and above all none of the teachers can be so provided. Sr. de los Ríos talks hopefully of "intensive training of teachers during the summer," and it is true that he has something of a surplus of personnel to work upon, but to suppose that the results can be equal to those of the past, and can do other than produce discontent, is impossible. Thus, widely as the present Government has alienated opinion by its treatment of the Church, it seems likely that it has not yet made its maximum number of enemies.

Next, let us consider the present political situation in Spain. There is every indication that, if things take their normal course, the Conservative Republicans will win sweeping victories at the next general elections and hold power for some years. The very fact that Sr. Azaña is anxious to postpone these elections for as long as possible suggests that he anticipates some such result. Even the municipal elections of last April he postponed indefinitely after having announced for months that they should be held come what might, and there has been no word of them since. As to the "partial" municipal elections, which took place on April 23 last, some 10,500 of the 16,500 candidates elected were opposed to the Government. When general elections for the Cortes at length take place, the women's vote will for the first time be exercised in parliamentary politics: women's suffrage only passed the Cortes at all by a small majority, and it needs no skilful prophet to forecast its first results. Again, the traditionalist Republicans are likely to be aided by the force of reaction: the pendulum swung far to the Left in July 1931 through the impetus of neo-republican

enthusiasm; it will surely swing far to the Right at the first opportunity through the impetus of profound disillusionment. The present Government and its immediate predecessors have never been fairly representative of the people of Spain: a new Government democratically elected can hardly fail to be more so.

It is true that even the election of a largely Conservative Cortes would not at once solve all problems. Articles are not erased from a nation's Constitution in a day, and the wrongs of the last two and a half years cannot be righted by any less drastic procedure. Then there is the question, already hinted at, of personality and leadership. Sr. Azaña is in power to-day solely because he alone is capable of leading the present coalition. Can the traditionalists also produce a strong man who, like the present Prime Minister and his great adversary Primo de Rivera, knows how to govern? Time alone will show. His own best friends were unaware of the capabilities of Sr. Azaña until emergency revealed them. Another statesman may well be maturing behind the closed doors of National Action, ready and able at the first opportunity to lead his country back to true progress.

That brings me to the last, and fundamental, reason for optimism: that the heart of Spain is sound. If I ever doubted it my confidence is now fully strengthened. Read the accounts in the papers last spring, for example, of the devotion of the women of Bilbao to the monument to the Sacred Heart which, by a majority of 3, the city council resolved to remove from its place in a public square. They came in groups, by night and by day, to make acts of reparation, until the Civil Governor issued an order that they were not to remain in the vicinity of the monument—"still less to pray there." Even then, so many women kept vigil that shock-troops had to be employed to remove them.

Last spring I was enabled to study the religious situation in Spain by making an extensive tour of

the country. Everywhere I found vigorous life, constant hope and unabated courage. The now open hostility of a relatively small number of people who formerly professed orthodoxy has strengthened the Church, and not weakened it. The observance of Holy Week in Seville, where there were none of the usual street processions and few tourists, was more strikingly devout than I have seen it on any of three previous visits. In Madrid, where the authorities no doubt believed that they were pleasing the people by allowing theatres and cinemas to open on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, only eleven out of fifty-six took advantage of the permission. The great festivals are still kept by the people as holidays in spite of their abolition as such by the Government. In short, it was difficult to see any marked difference in popular conduct between the Spain of 1930 and of 1933. It takes more than the running-up of flags to full-mast on Good Friday to change the religion of a nation. Sr. Azaña, in his fanatical speech to the Cortes on October 13, 1931, declared that Spain was no longer a Catholic country, maintaining that the fact that many millions of Spaniards were practising Catholics did not affect his argument. It was the " creative endeavour of its spirit " that mattered, and the " direction followed by its civilization." One would think that Catholic Spain was giving sufficient proof of creative endeavour in its literature and art of the present day, but those who refuse to see this, as in some circles it is the fashion to do, can hardly mistake the direction which is being steadily pursued by Spanish civilization. Undeterred by the efforts being made to intimidate them, the great mass of Spaniards are refusing to embrace neo-paganism, and are determined that in the New Spain, which they desire as ardently as any, shall be incorporated all the virtues of the old.

E. Allison Peers

ESSENTIAL OILS AND MEDICINAL HERBS

Suggested Industries for Ireland

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WHILE it is admitted that every effort should be made to initiate new manufacturing processes in this country, there is no clear consensus of opinion on the best lines for development. It is probably correct to say that industries of a chemical or bio-chemical nature are relatively easier to establish and maintain in a country like the Irish Free State than large scale engineering enterprises. Apart from the problem of availability of resources for power and raw materials and outlet for finished products, other considerations are involved, even if capital is available. Engineering processes and the evolution and use of complex mechanical plant require a background of tradition. Gradually accumulated technical knowledge and skill to a fine degree are also required. Such activities, even when successful, tend towards centralisation and may be fatal to the handicrafts or smaller trades of the rural areas which require special encouragement. The term "*chemicals*" however is a very wide one and covers a great number of commodities ranging from metals, pottery, glass, cement, rubber, explosives, coal distillates, alkalies, fertilisers, fermentation products, and many others to food materials, fine chemical stuffs and pharmaceutical preparations. The demand for all these articles is comparatively large and necessitates annually a considerable expenditure of money. Some of those are manufactured in this country, but the amount of production is generally small.

For convenience the various substances can be sub-divided into main groups—namely heavy chemicals and

high grade chemicals. In an industrialised country the former group has special attractions, but to us at the moment the second group has a more direct appeal. It appears to offer the best immediate opportunity for development. On examination of the trade statistics of the Irish Free State the import lists show substances under this heading which might be produced at home. In the present article only one class in this grouping will be considered, namely that of the chemical products obtained from plant or animal life. This group has the particular point in its favour that it embraces an industry having close relation to our agricultural tradition and to our basic industry. The growing of medicinal and perfumery plants and the winning of essential oils and active principles from these would at first sight appear to be a likely industry. The term essential oil is used to indicate the highly aromatic volatile, mobile liquids obtained by distillation, expression or extraction from vegetable sources. Natural perfume is a product of metabolism in the plant, and its highest forms occur in the scent of growing flowers. The odour is due to the presence of small traces of essential oils in the petals. In some cases, as in lavender, the oil is uncombined and is removed by simple steam distillation. In other cases, as in jasmin, it is combined with a sugar product (as a glucoside) and more drastic means are required to free the odorous principle. The essential oil may also occur in the leaves, bark, root, seed and in other parts of the vegetable's organism, depending on the type of plant. Other vegetable oils of a different chemical nature, such as olive oil, would be classified as fixed oils. However, the essential oil industry and the growing of plants of medicinal value are practically undeveloped here, and very little systematic investigation in this direction has been carried out in modern times.

In spite of the present day inactivity in this field there is a definite tradition in ancient Ireland for the

study and use of herbs of medicinal value. Herb lore and hereditary healers were common among the ancient Celts, and many records are found in the old Irish manuscripts. To mention but one example, the Book of the O'Shiels, which was transcribed as early as 1657 from older manuscripts, is largely a dissertation on the medical properties of herbs. The tradition has survived in numerous forms down to comparatively recent dates. In various districts the sites of old herb nurseries are to be found. The North Infirmary Hospital in Cork is situated in a district which was known as the Apothecaries Gardens. The sick came long distances to seek medicinal herbs. The subject of herb cultivation is briefly dealt with by Dr. M. F. Moloney in his very interesting monograph published fourteen years ago by Messrs. M. H. Gill and Son. It is entitled *Luib-Seancus—Irish Ethno-Botany and the evolution of medicine in Ireland.* A well compiled summary of native Materia Medica of vegetable origin has been made under headings of land and marine flora. The book should be read by everyone interested in the revival of this ancient cult or its modern equivalent.

At the present time it is difficult to obtain even limited supplies of suitable plants or expert advice on the proper procedure for cultivation and subsequent harvesting and sale. Each grower has practically to engage in pioneer work. Some progress has been made in the bottling and packing of these products ; but as far as can be ascertained the actual constituents used are mainly imported. The trade in such products is by no means small. In the year 1922 over 800,000 lbs. of essential oils (other than turpentine or fixed oils) and perfumery products of the value of over £100,000 were imported into the Irish Free State. For the preceding four years for which records have been examined the total figures are approximately the same. The above figures do not include medicinal products or herbs and are, in the later years, mainly

preparations free from dutiable spirits. Owing to climatic conditions it is true that a number of essential oils—*e.g.*, otto of roses—could not be obtained economically here, yet this only applies to a small proportion of the above total. There are many extensively used articles of the above type which could be readily obtained in rural areas in this country. The developments which have taken place in kelp and carrageen moss collection, under official guidance, should be an incentive to extend this type of enterprise to include other natural substances. Such action would tend to counteract the tendency towards centralisation of industry in one or two large centres and could be initiated on a comparatively small capital expenditure.

In Broadstone, Dorset, where the author resided in 1922, a large area was given over to the cultivation of lavender and other fragrant plants. In the centre of the main crop of plants was situated a steam distillation unit for the separation of the volatile oils. The small holders of the locality also collected plants and heather from their gardens and from the heath. These were sold to local depots mainly for distillation In the case of lavender there was also a sale for the dried leaves. The small growers had also a London market at Mincing Lane, where the odorous plants, herbs, and crude extracts found a ready sale. During the European War there was an attempt at an organised collection of herbs at various centres in the south of Ireland, as a branch of a central organisation in London. There still remains at University College, Cork, the wooden storage buildings and drying sheds in which the herbs were collected and sorted. At this depot the following plants were collected : Foxglove (leaves), Burdock (roots), Bog-bean, Datura-stramonium (leaves), Couch-grass, Dandelion (root) and Coltsfoot.

Oils of lavender, dill, camomile, peppermint, rosemary, etc., have been produced for many years in the south of

England—mainly in Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, and Cambridgeshire. Certain areas have acquired a reputation for particular products. Mentha piperita, the source of peppermint oil, has been grown at Mitcham, in Surrey, practically every year since 1750. This plant does not appear to have been cultivated in Ireland until recent years, although it is of interest to note that Carroll (*cf. Cybele Hibernica*—More, 1898), in 1854, observed that Mentha piperita grew plentifully (in the wild condition) by the River Lee quite close to the city of Cork.

Numerous medicinal plants and herbs are grown and harvested in a number of South of England farms. The collection of the plants and the extraction of the active principles are carried out in co-operation. Other natural substances are imported in addition—*e.g.*, cloves, cubebs, sandalwood and patchouli—for distillation and further purification. The technique with these foreign supplies is somewhat similar to that used with the native products, and by such a procedure the workers and plant are kept in more or less constant employment. The extraction of isolated essential oils and solution in alcoholic solvent is only one step in the preparation of marketable perfumes. It is still necessary, in the preparation of special perfumes, to blend with oleo-resins, balsams, and gums in order to retard evaporation. Synthetic bodies are also added in minute amounts to increase persistence and diffusiveness of the odour. Another operation is that called fixation, by which the perfume is so modified that on application or sprinkling of the substance the odour will remain for the maximum period. This is a special art in itself and requires the assistance of the expert chemist. Many scientific workers are engaged as well in the investigation of the products from the chemical and botanical aspects, checking their purity and exploring avenues for their utilisation. Such operations are worked generally in line with the preparations of pharmaceutical goods. The industry is one of great national importance to England,

particularly in relation to taxation, of which it contributes a high proportion of its expenditure. In addition to the home market a large export exists.

Some time ago the author showed from semi-technical scale plantings and distillations conducted in the South of Ireland that such plants as Lavendula Vera (for oil of Lavender), Mentha piperita (for oil of peppermint), Anthemis nobilis (for oil of camomile) and Rosemaris officinalis (for oil of rosemary) yield essential oils of a character equal to the best Mitcham oils and perfumes. The fruit of Anethum Graveolens was also successfully grown for dill oil. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Mitcham oils of lavender and peppermint are more highly esteemed than any other and command by far the highest price. The results of these investigations were recorded in the *Economic Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, Vol. II, XVI, 1926; XVII, XVIII, XIX, 1927; XXV, 1929; and were favourably reported on by the *Perfumery and Essential Oil Record* (Vol. XVII, 12, 469, 1926). In any development of the industry here the three most likely products to study for production in the first instance will probably be lavender, peppermint and dill oils. It is therefore not out of place to select the three crops for more detailed discussion.

Lavender

The market for lavender oil is comparatively high, chiefly on account of its perfume. It is one of the principal perfumery materials, and the cheaper varieties are used in the soap industry. In addition to lavender water, a large variety of perfumes, including Eau de Cologne, have this oil as a constituent. Unlike many other perfumes synthetic lavender oils have not so far found favour.

From economic considerations Lavendula Vera is the main variety cultivated for commercial oil production in England. At least four varieties of it are known, but

two only of these are in cultivation on a large scale, the others being found mainly in nurseries or gardens. The principal form is var. angustifolia (also known as var. fragrans); the other is var. delphinensis, which is cultivated less extensively. The latter is of special interest to Irish growers, since it does not require such a dry soil as var. angustifolia. The species lavendula stoechas is extensively grown in France. Lavendula spica, a fourth but inferior species, is found in Spain. In most countries various hybrids also grow readily, but they are unsuitable for the production of a good oil.

Soil and situation are of importance. Lavender plants need little moisture and grow best in a calcareous stony well-drained soil in sunny situations. A very rich loam is detrimental to the oil yield, as excessive nourishment tends to overgrowth of the leaf. The ideal soil is a light brown loam overlying chalk, although sandy loams are good if dressings of chalk or lime are applied. Lavender is by nature a sub-tropical plant, although it thrives at high altitudes. Severe frost injures it, yet a low-lying situation should be avoided. A severe winter may result in a number of plants being killed by frost. The ideal situation is a sunny one, exposed, but with some protection from the winds and preferably sloping to the south. Further details on this subject may be found in a paper by Hoare of the British Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, entitled "Lavender—its Cultivation for Marketing and Distillation" (*Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture*, 1923, 30, p. 543). It is important that the land be properly prepared by deep and thorough cultivation. Potatoes, it is claimed, make an excellent forecrop, as the thorough working of the land will prepare the ways for lavender. The land should be cultivated to a depth of about twelve inches, and kept free from weeds. The usual plan is to set the plants (cuttings from mature plants), 18×18 inches, very carefully on the square. When these have occupied the ground for one year, each

intervening plant and those of every other row are taken out, leaving the spacing 36×36 inches. In the *Journal of the British Ministry of Agriculture* (1911, 18, p. 566) rows four feet apart and six feet wide are recommended, with approximately two thousand plants to the acre. The plants so removed will be useful for placing in fresh ground. Before being set in the ground the plants are trimmed at the top. October or early Spring is the time generally selected for planting. Plantations reach their prime in the second and third years, and are not considered profitable after the fifth year that follows transplanting. In commercial practice the bushes are burnt after the fifth or sixth year. The ashes from the burnt bushes are returned to the soil.

Lavender demands careful attention from the grower. It has been stated that the financial return to the latter is, to a certain extent, in direct relation to the amount of care expended on the crop. Light surface hoeing is necessary. It is also important to prevent the appearance of weeds, which impede the growth of the plant and diminish the quantity of the oil extracted. The use of suitable chemical manures exerts a very beneficial effect on the quantity of oil obtained. The three main fertilisers employed appear to be superphosphate and, to a less extent, nitrate of soda and potassium chloride. Care must be exercised in selecting healthy stocks for planting purposes, and bushes attacked by disease should be removed and burnt as soon as possible. On badly drained soils and on soils deficient in chalk or lime the roots are often affected.

Distillation of the flowers should be carried out as soon as possible after cutting, otherwise considerable quantities of oil will be lost through evaporation from the flowers. In the English method of distillation the last runnings—4 to 8 per cent. of the total distillate—are separately collected. This small fraction shows a higher gravity and a greater ester content. After distillation

the best oil is matured in the dark for some years. A considerable amount of controversy has taken place on the best method of comparing lavender oils obtained from various sources. So far no single definite test can be said to be a deciding factor. That the odour of lavender oil is dependent on more than its content of esters is evident from the fact that the English oil, though containing much less ester than its French rival, commands a higher price. The ester content might be more reliable as a basis of evaluation when comparing oils from the flowers grown in the same district. In a good year the yield of distilled oil per acre of plants is stated to be between twenty and thirty pounds. Sawer (*Odorographia*, 1907) gives 25 lbs. as an average yield per acre. Another authority states that an average yield as low as 12 lbs. of oil to the acre would be a fair estimate, but a considerable amount depends on the type of plant, nature of soil, climatic conditions, etc. This lower yield is recorded by Ransom (*cf. Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture*, 1911, 18, p. 566), but in this case the area included the portion given to the cuttings and to the first year growths. These are in many cases quite small plants and only give a small amount of flower.

Peppermint

Two varieties of Mentha piperita are in cultivation—Mentha piperita officinalis pallescens or "White" mint, and Mentha piperita officinalis rubescens or "Black" mint. The black mint is the stronger and the more hardy. It also yields a larger quantity of oil. The quality, however, is much coarser; hence the oil from the white mint is more esteemed. Some growers, in order to obtain an oil with better flavour, cultivate both varieties. It is stated that the black mint may yield as much as 30 lbs. of oil per acre, while the white mint gives about 20 per cent. less.

A discussion of the varieties of mint is given by

Holmes in the *Perfumery and Essential Oil Record* of May 1925. In Japan a different variety is grown—M. arvensis piperascens. This yields an oil so rich in menthol that at times the oil solidifies. It forms the source of supply of natural menthol. The average annual Japanese crop yields about one and half million lbs of oil. This oil has not by any means the fine flavour and odour from other sources. The growth of this variety of mint has been started, with promising results, in North Carolina and in Michigan for the production of menthol. At least 150 acres are under cultivation, and the oil contains 87 per cent. of menthol.

Any position or soil suitable for growing corn or potatoes is fit for peppermint. Deep clay, clay-chalk and clay-siliceous soils, if well worked, are also quite suitable. The subsoil should be fairly retentive of moisture, but boggy land, with stagnant water, should be avoided. In choosing a situation for planting, readily accessible localities should be chosen, as hand-weeding is required during the first year of growing in particular. Frequent tillage is of great advantage. Peppermint, like lavender, succeeds excellently when it is planted in succession to potatoes or roots, where thorough cultivation and weeding have been required. Planting is carried out best in February and March. The plants are set about 12 to 15 inches apart in rows, with about 15 inches between the rows. Hand-weeding is required in the early stages, but later the plants themselves, by covering the ground completely, check the growth of weeds. The plants remain in their position for five years.

The yield of oil is greatest during the second year, and after five years the plants are dug up and destroyed. A change of crop is desirable after five years growth of mint. The practice in Japan is to grow peppermint for three years, and then change to leguminous crops. Propagation is effected by removing the runners which spring out freely from the base of the plant. Fresh

plantings, to take the place of the plants thrown out in the fifth year, should be made each year. Propagation is not effected by seeds. The plants, as a rule, are remarkably free from disease. The most prevalent is due to a fungus, and is known as rust, which attacks the stems and leaves. This is caused by insufficient manuring, by a very damp situation, or by a too long continued growth of peppermint on the same plot. This plant thrives even in a moist climate, and rain during harvesting, it is claimed, would not matter as the plants require to be artificially dried. The plants are ready for cutting when the flowers are just opening. The yield of oil is greater at this stage than at any other. The whole plant is cut down, either by scythe or sickle.

Dill Oil

Cultivation is similar to that of spring oats, 10 lbs of seed being " drilled " to the acre. On the mainland of Europe the seed is sown in autumn, in a warm position and in light well-drained soil. The young plants are thinned in the spring to about ten inches apart. Sowing takes places in England about March. The plants require careful attention as the time for harvesting approaches. Mowing is commenced when the lower " seeds " (fruits) begin to fall, the others ripening on the straw. In dry periods cutting is best done during early morning or late evening. The loose leaves are built into small stacks of about twenty sheaves. The straw and chaff, after the removal of the seeds, are not utilised. The crop is stated to be rather exhaustive of soil fertility. The yield of Dill fruits is 5-7 cwt per acre. According to Finnemore (*The Essential Oils*, p. 662) the yield of oil from fruit grown in different countries is as follows :—English 4·0, German 3·8, Roumanian 3·5, East Indian 2·0 per cent. Dill oil, although differing in odour from caraway oil, is almost identical in composition with it, consisting for the most part of limonene and carvone. The Dill seeds used

for sowing at Cork were of the best Mitcham quality. The oil was almost colourless, possessing the same taste as a sample of Mitcham oil, but differing considerably in odour from the latter. A sample of the oil was submitted to Messrs. Boake Roberts & Co., the well-known essential oil distillers, who reported as follows : " We have made an examination of the Dill oil and have formed the opinion that it is an oil of high quality. The oil has a fine odour, but it is distinct from that of European and East Indian oils, and we have no doubt that the oil would be quite readily saleable."

Owing to the want of organisation the study of these plants has not advanced much beyond the experimental stage in this country, but there is no reason why products equally good as those produced elsewhere could not be secured economically under right conditions of working. The Irish Flora is richer than that of England, and in some respects the plants and oils from this country should cover a comparatively wide range. According to Jude (see reference later) a number of experimental plantations of Mentha piperita (for peppermint), Lavender, Chicory, and Gentian have recently been undertaken in the South of Ireland. Blue Flag Mustard plantings are being made this year.

The cultivation of plants and herbs for so-called luxury products—*e.g.*, essential oils, perfumery, cosmetics, toilet preparations, food flavours, soaps, disinfectants, etc.—is but one line of attack. Plants or herbs can also be cultivated for pharmaceutical preparations. A few examples in this group of plant drugs may be cited. From the leaves of Atropa Belladona are obtained belladona and atropine. From the digitalis leaves is obtained digitalis ; Male Fern, Gentianae Radin, Hyoscyamus Niger, Dandelion-root, Broom, Couch, Grass and numerous other plants also yield active principles which have application in medicine. The cultivation of these plants in most countries is under scientific control with government

permits. A third group includes the growing of tobacco for its nicotine content which has many technical uses (*e.g.*, in fumigators, sheep-dip, etc).

The production of essential oils and the extraction of plants for various needs are progressive industries, and, hand in hand with work on nature products, investigation must proceed on related synthetic chemicals which have new or specific uses. Such products are the groundwork of synthetic perfumery. Work of this nature forms the nucleus for a research association, and if developed in this country it would form an outlet for a number of our university graduates. The idea of a research association in this field of work is by no means novel. In other countries, even where the industry is progressive and of long standing, there is generally a research station to aid in difficulties and to help in new developments. Bulgaria, Holland, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, all have such associations. The house of Schimmel in Leipzig is world famous for its attention to new developments in the chemistry of essential oils. Among the latest countries to adopt such an idea is Russia, and the main objects of the Moscow Stations is to aid in the production of essential oils of commercial importance and to foster the possibilities of further industrial expansion. In England the Board of Agriculture render aid to the industry by pamphlets and individual advice. One useful booklet issued by the Board during the European War was of great value to small growers. It was entitled *The Cultivation and Collection of Medicinal Plants.* Colonial progress in this direction is aided by the Imperial Institute of London. In England some large pharmaceutical firms have subsidised special sections for such work, and brief reference may be made to one of these. The famous firm of Burroughs Wellcome & Co. have an extensive Materia Medica farm at Dartford in Kent, from which they obtain constant supplies of high standard herbs grown under the immediate supervision of their

own botanical and chemical experts. The farm, in addition to supplying medicinal herbs for the manufacturing departments, also serves as an experimental and research station.

As a result of the lessons learnt at the beginning of the Great War the British Government set up in 1915 a department of Scientific and Industrial Research, and under its guidance research associations have been set up which have since materially helped many industries. One of these groups functions in Northern Ireland, where linen and flax investigations are fostered. It is admitted that the grower of flax, the spinner, the weaver, bleacher and finisher of linen as well as the manufacturer have all benefited by this small group of about six scientists. On a smaller scale and under modified conditions a somewhat similar organisation is needed here. Research associations are also required in this country not only for this group but in other directions—*e.g.*, for peat development, textiles, forestry, and in a small country like ours one might possibly include many lines of activity under one research organisation. When it is remembered that in times of emergencies most of our supplies of fertilisers, antiseptics, anæsthetics, explosives, etc., etc., would be more or less cut off, a vital work for this organisation would be an investigation of the adaptability of our existing resources to the production of such materials. Such work can only be initiated with state encouragement and subsidy. The efficient control and staffing of an institution of this kind will be a difficulty at first, as the training of our science students is too restricted and advancement on technical lines, such as is given at German or Swiss Polytechnics, does not receive sufficient encouragement in Ireland.

In the first instance some type of Commission or Advisory Board is necessary to review the general position and to outline methods of procedure. Individual problems might then be assigned to particular schools. Such a Board has been already advocated by Professor A.

O'Rahilly on wider lines and even for other than chemical problems. These considerations, however, raise a separate issue which would require separate treatment.

A book has recently been printed and published in Ireland which should give great impetus to the establishment of an essential oil industry. It is called *Medicinal and Perfumery Plants and Herbs of Ireland—A Possible Great Natural Irish Industry Suitable to the Gaeltacht* by "Jude" (Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1933. 6s. net.). A very strong case is made out for immediate and systematic investigation in this whole field. A monograph is included of plants of economic importance, with methods of cultivation, collection, and winning of active principles. Many of these plants have been recorded in Irish manuscripts, and an Index is given with their original Irish names. The list, however, is more restricted than that given in Moloney's *Irish Ethno-Botany*. A novel section is devoted to medical preparations from the animal kingdom. In this group are included extract of pituitary, insulin and thyroid gland. A case is made out for the preparations of these substances of a high grade of physiological activity from Irish animals. A commission is rightly advocated to investigate the possibility of manufacture here. Even to the trained Irish chemist or applied botanist this book by "Jude" is more inspiring and instructive than the standard texts of Finnemore, Parry, Gildermeister, or Hoffmann, since it draws special attention to Irish plants and herbs of economic importance. The whole thesis is written to stimulate interest in the development of a new rural industry, and many valuable suggestions are put forward. The collection of even wild herbs might be practicable in some districts, and it is claimed that such plants as Blue Flag, Felix Mas, Wild Thyme, Foxglove, and numerous others grow in sufficient profusion to make large scale collection possible.

Reference is made to interesting experimental plantations of digitalis, henbane and belladona now in progress

at Limerick. This work is being carried out with the consent of the government authorities. Again emphasis is laid on the need for organisation, and "Jude" suggests that the Department of Agriculture should set up a special branch to study herb cultivation in Ireland, having regard to the aspects of soil, climate, methods of cultivation, selection of types, and to factors that influence the quality of active principles in medicinal plants. An information bureau to aid the progressive grower is also advocated. Such problems in applied chemistry or botany should make suitable subjects of study for our young post-graduate science students. The cultivation of many of these essential oil-producing plants would, in the opinion of "Jude," be eminently suitable to the Gaeltacht. The plants could be propagated from cuttings of roots and stems of the wild plant, etc. A nursery, it is suggested, should be set up in this area to supply plants to the small holders working under the supervision of the local agricultural instructor. A small distillation plant to extract the oils, as well as a marketing organisation, would also be necessary. It is claimed that an acre or two of Mentha piperita, to take one example, would make a small uneconomic holding economic.

The present time would appear to be opportune for the development of this industry, and the above brief notes on the subject have been completed at the request of the Editor of STUDIES. It is hoped that a case has been made out to justify definite attention to this field. A final word of warning, however, is necessary to emphasise the need for initial expert advice and for proper organisation both with regard to cultivation and marketing.

JOSEPH REILLY

RICHARD FITZRALPH, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH[1]

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RICHARD FITZRALPH was Archbishop of Armagh from 1346 to 1360, and for more than two centuries after his death the Archbishop was venerated in Ireland, at least in the English Pale, as Saint Richard of Dundalk. But there has been a good deal of uncertainty as to his birthplace, and modern scholars are still apt to claim him as an Englishman. English by racial origin he undoubtedly was—or rather Anglo-Norman ; and his work as Archbishop of Armagh was limited to the English-speaking Palesmen of his archdiocese. But the fact of his birth in England or Ireland has more than an antiquarian interest. FitzRalph—or *Armachanus*, at he was generally known to mediaeval theologians—is an outstanding figure in the intellectual history of the fourteenth century. Was he by birth and education wholly an Englishman, who owed his appointment to the See of Patrick to the personal favour of an English king ? Or was he the first, or one of the first, in a long line of notable Anglo-Irish scholars, whose intellectual interests throughout life have been effected by the fact of their birth in Ireland ? An answer to that question can claim the attention of all who are interested in the problem of Anglo-Irish culture.

Our earliest evidence is from a papal grant of September 1331. In this grant Bishop Grandison of Exeter, FitzRalph's friend and patron, is granted the faculty of assigning a canonry to Richard FitzRalph

[1] This paper was read at a recent meeting of the History Society of University College, Dublin.

"of the diocese of Armagh." In his petition for this faculty Grandison stated that FitzRalph had hitherto held no benefice. Armagh must therefore have been his native diocese. Eighteen years later FitzRalph, then Archbishop of Armagh, was preaching to the Friars Minor at Avignon on October 4, 1349. The Archbishop begins his sermon by reminding his hearers that he had a personal interest in their Order: *quia solus hic ordo locum habet in villa mee originis, in quo semper sunt plures de sanguine meo, licet humili, et ob hoc de eis possum dicere: Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?* There were only three Franciscan convents in the diocese of Armagh in the fourteenth century: Armagh, Drogheda and Dundalk. At Armagh there was the famous monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, and at Drogheda there were both Dominican and Carmelite Friars. Dundalk is thus left as the Archbishop's birthplace, though there is a difficulty. In addition to the Franciscan convent at Dundalk, which had been founded about the middle of the thirteenth century, there had also been a house of the English Crutched Friars since the beginning of the thirteenth century. If Dundalk was the Archbishop's birthplace, then we can only assume that he is not reckoning the English Congregation of the Crutched Friars among the Orders of the Church, though the *Fratres Cruciati* were a regular Order on the Continent.

Another passage in one of the Archbishop's unpublished sermons suggests Dundalk as his birthplace. FitzRalph came to Ireland as Archbishop in 1348, and he preached his first sermon in Ireland at Dundalk on April 24th of that year. A year previously he had preached in London at a general procession, taking as his text the Pater Noster. He now repeats the same sermon, but the note in his diary shows that he took pains to adapt his arguments to the occasion. At London he had given two reasons why he should instruct the people in the Lord's Prayer. These two reasons are repeated at Dundalk,

and a third reason is now added: *duplex causa fuit assignata quare volui orationem illam predicare dominicam, sicut in sermone alio supra de hoc; et tertia ratio fuit adiecta, quia exemplo domini nostri qui iudeos de sanguine suo dominicam (?) illam orationem primo docebat, volui eos de sanguine meo illam orationem primo docere.* This is plain enough. The Archbishop feels that he is coming home to his own people, and he wishes to begin his instructions to them with a sermon on the Lord's Prayer, that prayer which Christ had once taught to His kinsfolk the Jews.

After the Archbishop's death in 1360, the tradition that Dundalk was his home is clear and consistent for three centuries. His bones were brought back from Avignon to Ireland some years after his death, and were laid to rest in the Church of St. Nicholas at Dundalk. Two contemporary English chronicles—the *Chronicon Angliae*, which was written by a monk of St. Alban's in the late fourteenth century, and the anonymous continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* of the same date—record this translation of the Archbishop's relics in almost identical terms: *cuius ossa succedenti tempore in Hiberniam sunt delata, et in Dundalk, ubi natus fuerat, sunt sepulta; quo in loco innumera ad laudem Dei fiunt miracula.* Early in the following century the Dublin *Annals of St. Mary's* have an entry about the Archbishop: *natus fuit in villa de Dundalk.* In the year 1347 we have the first record of the Archbishop's popular title, "St. Richard of Dundalk." A chaplain of the deanery of Trim had been convicted of immoral life, and was ordered to pay a fine and go barefoot as a pilgrim to the Cross of Holy Trinity in Dublin and to Saint Richard of Dundalk. This title is still attested as in current use as late as the year 1634, when a priest who was then engaged in a controversy with the Friars reminds his opponents that FitzRalph was "called by the inhabitants of this countrey S. Richard of Dundalke." In the intervening two cen-

turies between these two dates there is no doubt as to the Archbishop's birthplace. Bale, Camden, Ussher, Ware and Wadding can all be quoted in support of the statement that FitzRalph was born in Dundalk. Leland, the earliest of the English antiquaries, calls FitzRalph an Englishman in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britanniae*, and Bale, who used Leland's *Commentarii*, does the same in his *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*, which was published in 1548. But FitzRalph was an obvious name to include in any record of mediaeval Oxford learning; and Bale's entry in his published *Summarium* does not prevent him from noting FitzRalph's birth at Dundalk in his later *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*. There is thus no evidence to be cited against the consistent tradition of all who mention FitzRalph until we come to the Devonshire antiquary, John Prince, whose *Worthies of Devon* was first published in the year 1701. In this volume Prince claims FitzRalph as a Devonshireman on two grounds: the fact that the Archbishop chose Exeter as the place of his consecration in 1347, and the fact that there was a family of FitzRalph in the county in Prince's own time. But FitzRalph's choice of Exeter for his consecration is explained, as we shall see, by his close friendship with Grandison who was Bishop of that See for most of FitzRalph's active life; and the existence of a family of FitzRalph in Devonshire, if it is not a mere coincidence, may be explained by the fact that some of the Archbishop's kinsmen had settled in the county either before or after his lifetime.

Some apology is needed for the details of this argument; but it is surprising to note how slow English scholars are to abandon a claim of this kind. Dr. Reginald Lane-Poole, than whom there are few more learned mediaevalists in Europe, states the main facts briefly in his article on FitzRalph in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and makes it plain that he regards the claim of Dundalk as very much the stronger. But quite recently Dr. Workman

has devoted several pages of his very elaborate two volumes on John Wyclif to a review of FitzRalph's career and his influence on contemporary thinkers at Oxford. His statement of the facts is characteristic : " FitzRalph, though claimed by many as a native of Dundalk in Ireland, was, possibly, of Devonshire origin, a fact which will account for the friendship with Grandison." National prejudices are not confined to Irish scholars.

Wadding's account of the Archbishop's origins is worth quoting in full. It is, as might be expected, very much more accurate than the statements of other scholars. Wadding has been narrating the circumstances of the Archbishop's death at Avignon : *hinc translatum corpus . . opera Stephani Medensis Episcopi ad Ecclesiam sancti Nicolai in oppido Dundalci, ubi advenis, ut ferunt, parentibus ex inferiori Ultonia, ea parte quae Ruta* (Lutha ?) *dicitur, prognatus, eo studio pietatis et doctrinae profecit . . .* As it happens, we can confirm Wadding's statements from the evidence of contemporary documents. Among the papal petitions that have survived from the fourteenth century are two in which the Archbishop asks for favours for his kinsmen. In the year 1344 FitzRalph, then Dean of Lichfield, petitions for three benefices for his three nephews, whose names are given as *Ricardus Radulphi, Edmundus Radulphi* and *Joannes Brisbon.* Another kinsman—Walter Douedale (in its modern form, Dowdall)—is mentioned in a later petition of the year 1360. These names establish the Archbishop's connection with a group of Anglo-Norman families which were settled in the neighbourhood of Dundalk in the fourteenth century. As a rule the name FitzRalph is spelt " Rauf " in contemporary documents, though the future Archbishop uses the form *filius Radulfi* in his letters from Oxford. " John Rauf of Dundalk " is a name which occurs frequently in the Calendars of the English Close and Patent Rolls at this period. He received a general pardon on April 20, 1330, and was given exemption for life from being put on

juries, assizes, etc., and from any appointment to a royal or civic service against his will. He visited England in 1333, and appointed William Douedale as one of his attorneys; and again in 1351. He himself was appointed attorney by Thomas Furnivall in 1330, 1331 and 1333; by William Alger in 1341 and 1342; by Joan, widow of William Your of Drogheda, in 1346; by Archbishop FitzRalph himself in 1347 and 1348, just after the appointment of the Archbishop to the See of Armagh. This John Rauf is thus connected personally with the Archbishop and with a member of that Douedale family with which the Archbishop was also connected. In the year 1357 John Rauf was appointed attorney for the Abbot of Lonlay in Normandy for lands owned in England and Ireland, and one of the other attorneys named in the deed is "John Brisebon"—again a name we have met in connection with the Archbishop. Three years later (1360) John Rauf was named as attorney for John, Prior of Stokes Courcy; and he is here associated with a John Douedale and a John Brysbond, who were also attorneys for the Prior. Another John Rauf, who is usually described as "John son of John Rauf of Dundalk" is mentioned in the Calendar for these years; and the two names—John Rauf and John son of John Rauf—occur in some local deeds of Dundalk which have been recently acquired by the National Library of Ireland from the Peppard family. These deeds are mainly concerned with the property of the Dowdall (Douedale) family, which passed later to the Peppard family; and they confirm the impression of a group of well-to-do English settlers, not of noble rank—for the Archbishop says expressly *de meo sanguine, licet humili*—but solidly established in the neighbourhood of Dundalk for at least one generation before the lifetime of the future Archbishop of Armagh. One glimpse of their activities may be had in a pardon which has survived from the year 1330. Robert de Bermingham and other "evil-doers" had harried the lands

around Dundalk in that year. In the affray that followed, Adam Rauf of Dundalk and Adam and Stephen Brisbon were involved in action that needed the King's pardon, which was duly granted.

Were these kinsmen of the Archbishop English or Irish in their speech and ways of life? The very names they bear show that they were English or Anglo-Norman by origin; and the records they have left us in the documents just quoted show that they lived a life here in Ireland that was governed by English laws and English traditions. The Archbishop's sermon-diary affords evidence no less conclusive as to the sharp division between the Irish and the English in his native county. Of the ninety-two sermons which have been recorded in this diary, twenty-nine were preached here in Ireland between the years 1348 and 1356, for the most part in the present counties of Louth and Meath. In these sermons there are frequent references to the Irish (*Hiberni*), and FitzRalph is everywhere insistent that justice and mercy must be shown to them as to all others. But he speaks of them everywhere as of a race distinct from his own, and the sermons which he preached in Dundalk, Drogheda, Coleraine, Trim, Kells, Ardee and other towns of the neighbourhood are recorded as having been preached, not in Latin, but *in vulgari;* and this phrase is made plainer by the occasional use of the words: *in vulgari anglice.*

Richard FitzRalph is thus plainly to be counted among the Anglo-Norman settlers whose stock was added to the native Irish stock during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We have all been taught at school that these Anglo-Normans became in time "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Whatever may be the truth of this dictum for a later age, there is very little evidence of this process of rapid assimilation in the Dundalk which FitzRalph knew as his home in the years just before Edward Bruce's invasion. To take one famous instance which, as it happens, has a direct bearing on the life of

the future Archbishop. When Edward Bruce had landed in the North of Ireland, a Franciscan Friar, whose name is given as *frater Simon* and who is probably to be identified with a Friar Simon le Mercer of the convent at Drogheda, appeared before him and disputed with others as to the rights and wrongs of the Anglo-Irish question. The dispute grew hot, and Friar Simon ended the argument by maintaining from the pulpit that it was no sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself had killed an Irishman he would not hesitate to say Mass the next morning. The incident had its inevitable repercussion. Under Bruce's leadership, the Irish took and sacked Dundalk in the summer of 1315. There was a Franciscan convent in the town, and the Dundalk Friars were made to pay for their brother's vehemence in argument. The convent was burnt to the ground, its property scattered, and twenty-two of the Friars were slaughtered in a general massacre.

I have not told that story solely as an illustration of the feeling that ran high in those years of tense struggle between the Irish in defence of their homes and the Norman or Anglo-Norman settlers. The burning of the Dundalk friary and the massacre of its community has, as I have said, a bearing on the career of Richard FitzRalph, at that time a young boy of fifteen or sixteen. In the sermon which he preached thirty-four years later before the Friars Minor at Avignon, FitzRalph mentions the fact that there had always been several members of his family among the Franciscans in Ireland. One of these kinsmen of the Archbishop has left a name in history; for we may safely presume that the *frater J. Radulfi* who is named as Provincial Minister of the Irish Province in 1331 is a member of the same Dundalk family. Since the FitzRalphs were settled in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, it is also a fair presumption that more than one of the family must have perished in the general massacre of 1315. These facts should be remembered to the lasting credit of Archbishop FitzRalph. If the years

of his Archbishopric are notable for his efforts to secure both peace and justice for the Irish as well as the English in his diocese, it should not be forgotten that he himself had memories that might have led another man far down another path.

Apart from the episode of Bruce's invasion, nothing else has been recorded that can be connected with FitzRalph's boyhood. But the decisive date in his early years is the year in which he left Dundalk for Oxford. A calculation based on the date at which FitzRalph is known to have taken his higher degrees at Oxford suggests that he came to the University in 1315, the very year in which Dundalk was sacked and the Friary burnt. The coincidence is striking, and it is tempting to connect the two more closely, arguing that young Richard FitzRalph left Ireland in the fury and disgust of those bitter years. But there were other reasons, at least as cogent, which would have compelled a young man of his abilities to seek education abroad. Mediaeval Ireland had no University, and the solitary effort to establish a papal University here in Dublin belongs, as it happens, to these very years of FitzRalph's boyhood at Dundalk. The facts are worth recalling, for they are too little known. Shortly after his appointment as Archbishop of Dublin, John Lech, the new Archbishop, petitioned Pope Clement V for authority to found a University in Dublin. There were, he stated, some doctors and bachelors of theology here in Ireland and others who lectured as masters in arts; but neither in Ireland nor in Scotland nor in the Isle of Man nor in Norway was there any *scolarium universitas vel generale studium*. Students in Ireland were thus at a great disadvantage, all the more so because the journey overseas was costly and dangerous. Pope Clement V was the first of the French Popes of the Avignon Papacy. To their credit should be reckoned a very real interest in the development of university education, and several of the mediaeval universities of France, Italy and Spain owe

their existence to one or other of these French Popes. There was thus nothing impossible in the proposal to found a papal University here in Ireland, to which Irish students could go for their higher education. Pope Clement V gave his assent to Archbishop's Lech's plan in a bull which is dated July 13, 1312 ; but the Archbishop died in the following year, and for the next four years the See of Dublin was vacant. Were it not for this accidental delay, Richard FitzRalph, who probably left Dundalk for Oxford in the year 1315, might have been reckoned one of the first of the students enrolled in the new University of Dublin. The bull was in fact put into execution by Archbishop Lech's successor, Alexander de Bicknor, in 1317, and statutes were duly issued for " the masters and scholars of our University of Dublin." But the proposed University lacked the support either of the English Government or the Irish people. Friar Clyn of Kilkenny, writing some thirty years later, notes under the year 1320 : *Incepit universitas Dublinie, universitas quoad nomen, sed utinam quoad factum et rem.*

These facts throw some light on the early education of Richard FitzRalph, who was to become in his day one of the leading theologians of Europe. A mediaeval Dominican or Franciscan convent was as a rule also a school at which lectures could be heard. Of such a school at Dundalk in the fourteenth century no actual record has survived ; but there is every ground for presuming that young FitzRalph could have laid the foundations of his education in the local convent of the Friars Minor. Theology was certainly taught in the neighbouring convent of Armagh at this time, for a Friar Michael Maglachlyn, who is described as *lector* of the Friars Minor at Armagh, was elected to the Archbishopric in 1303, when FitzRalph was a child, but was rejected by the Pope in favour of another candidate. So too in Drogheda we have evidence of a school in the convent of the Friars Minor, and this Drogheda school

became so notable a century after FitzRalph's lifetime that Pope Eugenius IV raised it to the status of an advanced school of theology on a level with the similar Franciscan school at Galway; and in 1465 the Irish House of Commons petitioned the king for the erection of an Irish *studium generale*, not at Dublin, but at Drogheda. This was at a later date, when the revival of the Irish element in Co. Louth had altered the whole outlook of the Franciscan convents in Dundalk and Drogheda. In FitzRalph's lifetime Armagh was well within the sphere of Irish interest, and it is unlikely that any of his family would have sought instruction there. The choice was therefore limited to the schools of Dundalk and Drogheda, and it is thus not unnatural that an ambitious boy should turn from both to the most famous of the English mediaeval universities.

As it happens we have an unexpected record of FitzRalph's personal interest in this problem of an Irish University. The first year of his Archbishopric (1348) was interrupted by the outbreak of the Black Death in his diocese, and the Archbishop spent six anxious months with his flock in a district which was ravaged more severely than most other districts here in Ireland. When the floodtide of the plague was beginning to ebb away, FitzRalph preached a sermon in Drogheda on Lady Day, March 25, 1349, which opens with a striking exhortation to prayer for Our Lady's intercession. Three causes are named why his people should invoke Our Lady's help: the pestilence that is flooding the land, the abounding malice of men, and ignorance that is due to the lack of all higher education: *propter inundantem pestilenciam, propter habundantem hominum malivolenciam, et propter nostram insipienciam qui remoti sumus ab omni studio generali.* And in a later sermon which he preached to a Provincial Council at Drogheda in 1355, he urges that his clergy should unite in a general subscription which should make it possible for some at least to go abroad

and study at a University. He himself, so he claims, has already sent three or four of his priests in that way, and he tells his hearers that this method had been prescribed by Pope Benedict XII, whom FitzRalph had known at Avignon.

The scope of this essay precludes any detailed account of FitzRalph's career at Oxford. Much light has been thrown on the nineteen years he spent there by the publication of the Register of Bishop Grandison, greatest of the Bishops of Exeter and one of the most notable churchmen of his day, who was a friend and correspondent of FitzRalph in his Oxford days. This correspondence has made it possible to fix more accurately the dates of FitzRalph's degrees, and thus to calculate the probable dates of his birth and arrival at the University. FitzRalph was made a bachelor of theology in 1329 and a doctor of theology two years later, 1331. Working backwards from these dates, we can conclude that he took his degree as master of arts in 1322 and that he probably came to the University in 1315. Seven years were required from all who aspired to the mastership in arts, and another nine for the doctorate. So far as we can gather, FitzRalph spent these sixteen years at Oxford with only one interruption. In 1328 he had become tutor to Bishop Grandison's nephew—a young man who spent a good deal of his wealthy uncle's money at Oxford and elsewhere; and in 1329 FitzRalph took his pupil for a year to Paris, returning to Oxford in 1330. There is, however, nothing exceptional in this prolonged residence in one University. Oxford was at this time perhaps the most active intellectual centre in all Europe, rivalling and possibly outdistancing Paris for a brief period of two brilliant generations. And the Oxford men whose careers we can trace with fair certainty seem to have spent almost all their student-years at Oxford, many of them as fellows of Merton College. FitzRalph himself was a fellow, first of Balliol and then of the Hall that was to become in time University College.

Among FitzRalph's contemporaries at Oxford the most notable beyond all question was the young Franciscan, William Occam, whose lectures on logic and philosophy were just then overturning the established systems of Aquinas and Scotus. Occam can have come to Oxford only five or six years before FitzRalph, and he was at the height of his influence in the University when FitzRalph took his M.A. in 1322. Three years later the storm burst. Occam was denounced at Avignon as a teacher of heresy, and had thus to leave the University before he had taken his doctorate. For the next two years he was busy defending his system against his critics, and he finally became involved in the wider quarrel between Pope John XXII and the Franciscan Minister General, Michael de Cesena. The quarrel came to a tragic conclusion on a night in May 1328 when the Minister General, accompanied by Occam and another Franciscan theologian, slipped away from the papal palace at Avignon and sought refuge in the German court of Lewis the Bavarian, at that time in open schism from the Roman See. Such a defection must have made a deep impression at Oxford, where Occam's teaching had secured him a wide following; nor was it the only dramatic incident that marked FitzRalph's student-years. Four years earlier, in the summer of 1324, Marsilius of Padua had published his *Defensor Pacis* at Paris, the most extreme attack yet known on the whole papal position. He too had sought refuge with the German Emperor once his authorship had become known; and the memory of his defection was still recent when FitzRalph visited Paris in 1329. The controversy which followed this double defection is memorable for one masterpiece of mediaeval thought, Occam's *Dialogus*. But the *Dialogus* is only one of a long series of pamphlets and dialogues, whose influence can be plainly traced in some of FitzRalph's own writing.

Apart from Occam's influence, the most notable names in a notable generation of Oxford scholars are Walter

Burley, who is credited with more than a hundred commentaries on Aristotle's writings; Robert Holcote, a Dominican, who defended the Thomist doctrine of free-will and composed at least one notable commentary on Scripture; and Thomas Bradwardine, a mathematician and philosopher, whose lectures on free-will and predestination were later published under the title *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium*. FitzRalph's own name must be added to these, for his position among his contemporaries was unquestionably high. In a letter of introduction which his friend, Bishop Grandison of Exeter, wrote to some unnamed Professor at the University of Paris, he describes FitzRalph as *virum utique preclare sciencie et conversationis honeste*, and adds to this commendation: *inter omnes studentes et legentes Universitatis Oxoniensis eminenter dinoscitur intelligens et subtilis*. It is all the more to be regretted that the only one of FitzRalph's works which can undoubtedly be dated to these Oxford years—a commentary on the Book of the Sentences which is contained in one of the MSS. of Oriel College—has never yet been studied by any competent scholar. Written in the years that followed Occam's startling defection, but at a time when Occam's influence was still a very active force at Oxford, the evidence of FitzRalph's teaching would be valuable to all students of later mediaeval philosophy.

FitzRalph's standing in the University is plain from the fact that a year after his doctorate he was elected Chancellor of the University, an office he held for the next two years, 1332-1334. The second of these two years is memorable in the history of Oxford as the year of what is known as the Stamford Schism—a deliberate attempt on the part of some of the northern students in the University to found a new *studium generale* at Stamford, some hundred miles north of Oxford. The causes of this secession are still obscure. Mr. H. E. Salter has recently published a very curious satire in mediaeval Latin doggerel which is directed against FitzRalph in

person. So far as can be ascertained, some dispute between the Northern and Southern students led to a secession of a section of the northerners at the beginning of the academic year in October 1333. FitzRalph had been Chancellor for the past fifteen months, and in mediaeval Oxford it was the Chancellor of the University who was responsible for the general conduct of both students and professors. He was in fact the chief executive officer of the University, and as such was empowered to take police action against any member of the student-body. How far FitzRalph was personally responsible for the crisis that followed, we do not know; but there are indications that his person was in danger. A statute passed by the University within the next few months orders any student to be expelled who lays violent hands on the person of the Chancellor or his officers; and another statute forbids the Chancellor to leave Oxford without leave from the University authorities. FitzRalph seems to have made some rash pronouncement in October or November of that year, wagering his head against the heads of the secessionists that the schism would be over within six months. It was a sporting offer, but unfortunately the six months passed and the schism was not yet at an end. The verses which Mr. Salter has published from one of the Royal MSS. in the British Museum are full of allusions to the unfortunate position of the Chancellor, who was thus due to lose his head. *Fy-Rauf fecunde, qui rebus vivis habunde:* so the satire opens in jaunty style. And the Chancellor is then bidden look round for some less costly possession to risk when he takes to betting. *Res alias funde; tua pignora sint aliunde.* But there's nothing for it now but to pay up, even though a head, once lost, can never be got back:

Restat pacta pati, capud et pro pignore solves.
Heu miseri fati: tunc dicta priora revolves.
Omnibus est visum: veniet res resque peribit,
Sed caput abcisum per tempora nulla redibit.

This first glimpse of FitzRalph in action gives us an impression which is confirmed by some of his later experiences. All through life he seems to have been one of those impetuous natures, who are apt to rush into an impossible position without due forethought; and then pay the penalty of their indiscretion. Yet it must be remembered in all fairness that we have very little trustworthy information as to the causes of the Stamford Schism, and next to no information at all as to the part played by the Chancellor. In the end the University lost control of the situation and appealed to the King. Orders were issued for the suppression of the Stamford *studium*; but they had to be repeated more than once before they were carried into execution. And the King was also induced to send an official Visitor, who held an inquiry in the king's name at Oxford in the winter of 1334-5. FitzRalph had ceased to be Chancellor some months before the date of this inquiry; but his evidence must have been an important factor in the Visitor's final decision.

The King's Visitor was no less a person than Richard d'Aungerville, better known as Richard de Bury, the author of the *Philobiblon*. Richard de Bury had just been nominated Chancellor of England, and was soon to become Bishop of Durham. His judgment on the Oxford controversy has not been recorded; but it is significant that Richard FitzRalph is named with several others of his more distinguished Oxford contemporaries—Holcote, Burley, Bradwardine and Kilwyngton—in a famous account of the company that was gathered round the Bishop of Durham's table in London during the next few months. Plainly FitzRalph had not lost the favour of his colleagues, nor of the King's Visitor, as a result of the inquiry. And there is further proof to the same effect. One of the letters sent by the authorities of the University during the anxious months of the Stamford Schism was sent to the Bishop of Lincoln, whose jurisdiction then

included Oxford. In this letter authorities of the University inform the Bishop that they propose to send a deputation (*certos nuncios*) to the new Pope, Benedict XII, to beseech his favour and to represent at the papal curia the needs of the University. No names are mentioned in this letter, and no record has survived as to the activities of this deputation. But FitzRalph first appears at Avignon a few weeks after the probable date of this official letter, and it is a natural inference that he was selected by the University as their official spokesman in this plea for papal favour. FitzRalph's Chancellorship was thus perhaps the immediate cause of his first contact with the papal curia at Avignon. But the story of his experiences in Avignon must be reserved for a further article.

A. Gwynn

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The fullest account of FitzRalph's life yet published is in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (R. Lane-Poole). New evidence is available in the published Registers of the Bishops of Exeter (ed. Hingeston-Randolph) and in Rev. H. E. Salter's article in the *English Historical Review*, 1922. The unpublished sermons of FitzRalph are extant in several MSS. in the English libraries: I hope to edit them from MS. Bodl. 144 for the Irish Historical MSS. Commission, with collations from other MSS. I have been much assisted in my work by the generosity of Miss Helen Hughes, a student of Manchester University, who has lent me her unpublished thesis on the *De Pauperie Salvatoris* of FitzRalph, in which she has collected much new material bearing especially on the period of his residence at Oxford and Lichfield.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXVII

THE SOUL RIDING THE BODY

1. Cuir fhiar fem chorp a Choimde
ór é ar each dar n-anaimne
m'each iomchuir ag thiall lé tal
do b'ionchuir fhiar dá feolad

2. Ní fhoil iarraim don eachrain
do-chím nach é a huirearbaid
thiall do b'áil ar a hagaid
fhiar ar cáir dá connamain.

3. Ní hé gach aonfhiar fognar
don each fanntach fiubalbrar
cóir gaillfhiar do déinimh di
ler éirig d'ainmian innte.

4. Cuir aradna don umla
i fhiar an eich ailmuirda
macnar 'n-a cli do chalcaig
bachar í dá hiomarcaid.

5. Cuir don déirc do dion m'anma
fur an each mboth mbarbarda
go dtoirmirge a meanmain moir
ceannraig ndoibhirte ndeargóir.

6. Cuir ran thriar a meic Muire
béalbach thom don thócuire
froiurar ir-teach tar a tail
an t-each le ciunar chrádaid.

7. Smeigiall d'aithrige géir glain
cuir ceangailte don thriantain
an iall gan claoine gan cor
iad gach taoibe 'n-a tiomchal.

8. Má tá a Chíord gur cuirir rrian
rem eac ar eagla a hainmian
cia an neac dar doilta ar a druim
dá rocra eac gan uduim.

9. Diallait rocair do grád glan
cuir a Dé ar eac na hanman
do b'ioncuir duid ar a druim
cuid dar n-iomcuir don uduim.

10. Cuir uirce a rí ar rí ar neam
tiarac do dóccar daingean
ór tú an rí ar cumaing dá clód
nar ti di an uduim d'iompód.

11. Uctac dot fírinne rém
cuir uirce a uain an fírém
ó tá do breit go brát ort
beit do gnát ag a giollacht.

12. Geir di mírém a marcaig
teann fuirce a Chíord comactaig
tuar gábaid a geara rin
creara crábaid ir creidim.

13. Beit ar lár di ra deiread
ór é a chíoc go gcaitfeidear
mairg ar a luig an cli cuil
ni bí act ar muin a marcuig.

14. Guair liomra nac iontaoib m'eac
gnát an groig oitir uaibread
gníom baogail a Dé a daibeart
caomain mé ar a marcaigeact.

15. Mian di dul ar a hagaid
teann ire ar a harabain
mairg rliommarcac fuair mar eac
an truaill iomarcrac uaibread.

16. Iarraim ort már i do tal
go dti díot a Dé atar
beit id liaig ar mo lotaib
i ndiaid an eic anfocair. Cuir.

Translation

1. Bridle my body, O Lord, for it is my soul's steed; my riding-horse which takes her own head should have a bridle to guide her.

2. No spur do I ask for this steed; I see she needs not one; she would fain dash ahead; a bridle should restrain her.

3. Not every bridle suits this eager dashing steed; a foreign bridle should be made for her owing to the passions rising in her heart.

4. Fix the reins of Humility to the bridle of this wild horse so as to curb her frowardness; passion has grown stubborn in her heart.

5. On this fierce savage steed put a red-gold strong halter of Charity to check her high spirit and to save my soul.

6. In this bridle put, O Son of Mary, the heavy bit of Mercy to guide this steed, spite of herself, in quietness of devotion.

7. To this bridle fix and bind a cheek-piece of keen pure Sorrow; fasten the strap straight and firm on every side about her.

8. But even if, O Christ, in fear of her passion, Thou bridlest my steed, who could mount even a quiet steed without other harness?

9. Place, O God, on my soul's steed a steady saddle of pure Love; Thou must put on her back the harness to carry my soul.

10. Put on her too, O Lord of Heaven, a crupper of firm Hope; Thou art her master able to control her; let her not displace the harness.

11. Put on her, O Lamb of the Faithful One, a breast-piece of Thy Truth, since it must be Thy task to control her always.

12. Fasten on her, O powerful Christ, the girths of Piety and Faith; she has an obligation not to disobey her rider; her obligations involve much danger.

13. As the wicked body is doomed one day to be laid low, woe to him on whom she lies heavy; she is thus riding him.

14. My steed cannot, I fear, be trusted; her breed is wild and spirited; her wicked ways are dangerous, O God; save me from the danger of riding her.

15. She would fain run as she pleases and pulls at her rein; I pity the gentle rider who has got for his steed the proud unruly body.

16. O God the Father, I implore Thee, of Thy good will, to heal my wounds caused by my restless steed.

Notes

MSS.: 23 D 32 p. 119 (D); 23 D 30 p. 51 (d); 23 E 14 p. 28 (E); 23 I 40 p. 5 (I); 23 B 24 p. 421 (B); 23 G 23 p. 116 (G); 23 N 34 p. 175 (N); 24 L 5 p. 30 (L); 24 P 13 p. 59 (P); 24 C 23 p. 75 (C); F vi 1 p. 24 (F); F ii 2 p. 185 (f); Stoneyhurst MS (S).

MSS give various authors; Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (LFfBGCN), Aonghus Ó Dalaigh (C), Tuileagra Ruadh Ó Maolchonaire (S). Others give it anonymously.

1*b* ar é P, ór é *cet.* *cd* toil; feolaid MSS. 2*d* connaṁain, *cf.* IGT § 10. 3*a* fóirnear I. 1*c* déanaṁ MSS. 4*d* cailcide I, calcuib D, -cad *cet.* 5*a* an de LFf; don d. IDd. *d* ceannfad LE. 7*d* iad gacha taoib I, iadta gach taoib LFBf. 8*c* cia le neach L, cia neach F, cia a Dé neach B, ciad neach EGCNP, cia an teach D, ce marcach I. 9*a* iallait BL. 10*a* syllable short; leg. bur? *c* tú not in LBFENC. *d* nar dig FEGCN, nach dtig I, ná leig di D. 11*d* gealladh FECNG. 12*b* a cliar fmachtuig P. 14*c* baogal dúinn FBECNG. 15*d* iongantach FBGCNE. 16*b* go dtig FDGf, go dtige ECN.

CREDIT REFORM SCHEMES

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

TO be intelligible is to be found out. The purpose of this article is to make intelligible to the general reader the two principal schemes of "credit reform" which have at present a vogue in England. The authors of these schemes are Major Douglas and Professor Soddy, who are united in nothing except hostility to orthodox economics and a belief that only a mistaken monetary system now stands in the way of the Age of Plenty for all humanity. In their positive schemes they are poles apart; but this does not prevent followers believing in them both. Many who advocate credit reform, including writers who are allowed space in the Press, make it abundantly clear that they do not understand one word of what they are talking about. The theory of money does indeed contain some points of exceeding difficulty; but popular advocates of credit reform often show ignorance of the simplest elements. They are evidently conscious of their ignorance and try to cloak it with clouds of irrelevant words about the economic ills to which flesh is heir. Yet these people have some excuse. It is harder to understand the problem of poverty to-day than it ever was before. The apparent potentialities of wealth production of civilized countries make it difficult to understand why there should not be a sufficiency for all their inhabitants. The problem of production, it may plausibly be argued, has been solved, and we shall have the Age of Plenty if we solve the problem of exchange—that is, if we reform the money system.

In this article I shall not discuss the question of whether the problem of production has been solved. I

confine myself to an explanation and examination of the schemes of Major Douglas and Professor Soddy. Both are men of great ability. As Professor Soddy is a Fellow of the Royal Society, his intellectual distinction is beyond question; but the sphere of science in which he has gained a high reputation is not that of economics. Whatever may be said against Professor Soddy, he cannot be accused of culpable obscurity in his writings. He uses the very considerable literary talent that he commands always to make his position perfectly clear. I cannot pay the same tribute to Major Douglas. The latter resorts to indefiniteness just at the very vital points. He is always accusing his critics of not understanding him, and as a matter of fact he can often prove that he has not precisely said what his critics have assumed him to mean. This, however, is rather the fault of the Major than of his critics, because he habitually writes in a way to suggest something while he avoids precisely committing himself to the natural inference from his words. An example of his obliqueness is a footnote on the fourth page of his latest book, *The Monopoly of Credit:* "A list of recognised economists may be obtained on application to the head office of any bank or insurance company. Amongst authors unconnected with institutions of this character are . . . ." The sentence is completed with a list of eight "unorthodox" writers on monetary questions. Now it is not true that banks and insurance societies are ready to supply applicants with lists of recognised economists any more than with lists of recognised poets. If some simpleton did apply to a bank or insurance office for such information, it is conceivable that an effort would be made to oblige him; so the first sentence in the footnote quoted may not be entirely false, but it is false in its suggestion that "recognised" economists owe their repute to the patronage of financial houses and are "connected" with financial institutions. Catholic readers who have some acquaintance with moral philo-

sophy will be interested in the following passage as a sidelight on the mentality of Major Douglas :—" Perhaps a first step to an appreciation of the forces active in the modern world is to be gained by a consideration of the decline of moral religion. Undeterred by the fact that human individuals have with almost monotonous regularity indulged desires and followed after ends which the moral code has reprobated, upholders of the doctrine of Original Sin have condemned these desires and objectives as evil, and it is only within the present century that a considerable body of opinion has openly voiced the suggestion that perhaps it was the reprobation, and not human nature, which was in error. Belief in the absolute nature of sin has been replaced by what can be described as a moral relativity, and the objectives good and bad are taking on meanings which can be better expressed as suitable or unsuitable. Not only do we desire a new earth, but we conceive a new heaven, in which static concepts have no place."[1]

It is not my intention to criticise the shoddy ethical thinking illustrated in the above passage. I only want to point out that though there can be no doubt that Major Douglas rejects absolute principles of right and wrong he does not precisely say so and it would be open to him to plead, if he were criticised, that he was expressing not his own attitude but that of the " modern world " to questions of morals. A critic of his economics is at the disadvantage that the evasive Major can always point to a reservation or an ambiguity that will serve as a line of retreat when he is pressed too hard. For that reason it is impossible to give satisfactory quotations from Major Douglas to represent his teaching. I must therefore give my exposition of him in my own way, holding myself especially bound to be clear, because a writer on this question who is unclear should forfeit the confidence of the reader.

[1] Douglas : The Monopoly of Credit, p. 7.

Douglas schemes are to be distinguished from the Douglas theory. There have been a variety of Douglas schemes, all of them being methods of giving away millions of money for nothing. It is one of the affectations of the Major to admit himself slightly puzzled to decide on the most appropriate mechanism for effecting this free distribution, while he assumes the utmost dogmatism about the fact of the printing of more money making available a vast increase of wealth. I will say no more of the Douglas schemes, because they all depend on the Douglas theory. The theory is that under the present system the money in the hands of the consuming public is never sufficient to buy the consumption goods offered in the market at prices sufficient to cover the costs of production. There are always surplus goods which have to be disposed of by destruction, bankruptcy sales, or other uneconomic means. I will quote from a pamphlet entitled "A Digest of the Douglas New Age Social Credit Scheme" published by the Manchester Credit Reform Committee:

"The money disbursed to the community in wages, salaries and dividends, is not sufficient to buy the goods produced.

This brings us to the question of *Price*.

Why is the cash in the hands of the community not sufficient to buy the goods produced? Because, in the cost of making articles there enter only two factors:

(*a*) Wages, salaries and dividends.
(*b*) Raw materials, factory costs and bank charges.

As the price of the finished article is always greater than the money liberated in manufacture, there is never sufficient purchasing power liberated to purchase the goods produced. There is therefore a portion of the product which cannot be purchased by the money issued on account of it. And if it is true of one industry it is

true of all combined. The portion of the product which is left over after demand ceases at home seeks a market abroad. The competition for the foreign market amongst the great producing nations leads in the end to war. These are the terrible alternatives that our stupid system leads us to—bankruptcy, which means starvation, or war, which must mean the end of civilisation.

The amount of money in the hands of the people should be sufficient to buy all the goods which can be made by the people."

I have quoted a Douglasite exponent other than the Master because I cannot find an equally clear and concise statement in the books of Major Douglas himself. The reader is now provided with what the Douglasites call the A plus B Theorem. What are given as (*b*) payments in the quotation above (payments for raw materials, factory costs and bank charges) must necessarily be included in the costs of goods produced; but such payments, unlike (*a*) payments (wages, salaries and dividends), do not reach the consumers who must buy the goods; therefore consumers never have enough money to buy, at cost prices, all the goods that industry produces. It will be observed that in the quotation the three terms, money, cash and purchasing power, are used as synonyms; so we may use the word money here, as it is used in business, to cover the credit that people have at the banks as well as cash in their pockets. The Theorem assumes or implies that there must be some equality between money in existence and goods in existence. This is true: there needs to be equality between money and goods. But the question is, what goods? Money is needed as a means of exchange. There should be money of a value sufficient to effect the exchange of all goods in the market. But at any given moment only a fraction of a country's wealth is in the market, is offered for sale. The capital of a country is not generally being offered for sale; the houses, factories, schools, railways, mines

and so forth are not being offered for sale. Therefore total money does not need to equal total wealth, but only that portion of wealth which is currently produced for sale.

The needed equality between money and goods for sale is not equality between money in the hands of consumers and all goods for sale. Because many goods are for sale to producers, not consumers. The B payments in the Douglas Theorem are payments to producers; they are obviously necessary; they are payments for unfinished goods, goods not yet ready for the consumer, and there is no reason why the consumer should have money to purchase them. Not all the money can be in the hands of consumers or there would be no money to finance production. To assume an impossibility, if all money were in the hands of consumers, *qua* consumers, all demand would be for finished consumption goods only, which would accordingly rise tremendously in price, while all other goods would have no value at all because there would be no demand for them.

We now reach the interesting and important question of how much money needs to be in the hands of consumers, so that they can buy the goods offered to them at prices covering the cost of production. The answer is that consumers' money, or, more accurately, consumers' incomes, should be enough to cover the current costs of putting consumers' goods on the market. What consumers have to spend on bread, for example, should be enough to pay wages to the bakers, millers and farmers concerned, for the fuel and other materials used up, and for wear and tear of fixed capital, rent of land and interest on borrowed money. We can shorten our answer and say that what consumers have to spend on bread should equal the costs of the baker who makes and sells it. For the baker's costs include all the previous costs—*i.e.*, those of the miller, wheat-grower, etc. Let us say that the baker's cost, which he must recover from the con-

sumers, is £100, the miller's cost was £50 and the wheat-grower's cost was £25. The total cost remains only £100, though we have already found total payments of £175. Total payments could easily amount to £1,000, according to the number of times the bread or its constituents changed hands in the course of production; but when one dealer got back from another the price he had paid, such payments would cancel out as far as cost is concerned and the cost of the bread would remain £100.

The baker's total cost is £100 and this includes all costs—those of the farmer who grew the grain, of the transportation to the mill, of the grinding into flour, of the mining of the coal burned in the oven. The net baking cost is what the baker has for himself after paying all business expenses, wages of assistants, prices of materials, rent of shop, etc. The net baking cost in the sense explained is the baker's own income, available for his personal needs, for his expenditure as a consumer. We must apply this concept of net cost at every stage. The miller's cost was £50, this was what he charged the baker for the flour. The miller had paid £25 to the farmer, and he also paid out other sums as rent, interest, wages, etc., just like the baker, and leaving himself with something which we may call the net milling cost, being the miller's own income available for his consumption. Net cost, we thus see, is always consumer's income. Gross costs are all reducible to net costs, if we take care not to count the same cost more than once.

Net cost, we have said, is consumer's income, which means net income, that which remains for consumption after business charges have been met. Net cost equals net income and gross costs amount to the same thing as gross incomes. What is gross to one man becomes net to others. The baker's gross income is £100. He pays £10 wages to his assistants, this deduction from his gross income is net income to the assistants, available for their expenditure as consumers. The baker pays £5 rent

for his shop and this to the landlord is net income, available for consumption expenditure. We can go through every payment the baker makes and find that it becomes, directly or indirectly, consumer's income for somebody. The money of B payments, for raw materials, factory costs and bank charges, becomes money for A payments, for wages, salaries and dividends.

Because products exchange between producer and producer and not only between producer and consumer, it is quite right and necessary that consumers should have less than the total purchasing power in the community. Douglas schemes involve efforts to short-circuit the normal circulation of money, to make B payments prematurely A payments. This would lead to the driving up of the demand for consumers' goods at the expense of producers' goods; it would mean living on capital. Our conclusion is that consumers' incomes equal the net costs of producing consumers' goods, and therefore there is no necessary shortage of money for the purchase of such goods in the market. The A plus B Theorem is thus shown to be wrong. Of course I am not saying that consumers will spend all their income as soon as they receive them on consumers' goods. The hoarding of incomes will delay the sale of goods, and even saving in the form of investment, if it means more saving than was taking place before, will lessen and delay the clearing of consumers' goods from the market. This friction, however, has nothing to do with the Douglas theory.

Professor Soddy's analysis of the economic process, the production and sale of goods, is different from and contrary to that of Major Douglas. The Professor rejects the theory of a chronic deficiency of purchasing power as compared with costs. His proposal is not so much to increase the issue of money as to have all money issued by the State instead of by the banks. He believes that practically all money nowadays is issued by the banks in usurpation of the prerogative of the Crown. The banks

have become private mints. Everybody knows that the total bank deposits greatly exceed the amount of legal tender in existence. Professor Soddy estimates total money in Britain at £2,000 millions, of which only £60 millions comes from the Royal Mint. Bank money is simply fictitious money; it is money imagined to exist for the purpose of bearing interest. When a bank makes a loan (in Professor Soddy's view) it lends nothing. It creates a book credit for the borrower. Yet though the bank does not part with anything, the borrower receives something; he receives money, that is, purchasing power. He can obtain goods to the amount of the bank loan. This means that the community, not the bank, has really made the loan to the borrower, for the addition to purchasing power represented by the bank loan causes the prices of goods to be higher than they would have been without the loan. The banks are estimated to get interest of £100 millions a year on fictitious money loaned; and besides exacting this tribute the banks, according to Professor Soddy, arbitrarily alter the quantity and therefore the value of money in circulation. The essence of his practical scheme is to transfer from the banks to the State the profitable business of creating money. State-issued legal tender is to take the place of bank money. Estimating the present amount of bank money to be £2,000 millions, the cancellation of this would make room for the same amount of State money, which could be issued in redemption of that amount of National Debt. Thus the State pays off £2,000 millions of National Debt at no cost to itself or the taxpayer and without any confiscation of property. The only sufferers would be the banks, who would be forbidden to create money in future. They would be compelled to keep a cash reserve of 100 per cent. against their deposit liabilities instead of the 10 per cent. which is about the usual cash reserve at present. It would then be the business of the State to keep the value of money

stable by the regulation of its quantity. If index numbers showed a tendency of general prices to rise, the State would withdraw money from circulation; if the tendency of prices was to fall, more money would be put into circulation. It is anticipated that on balance, the amount of money would increase with the growth of wealth, and, every addition to the money supply would be pure profit to the State, because it would make the money at the mere cost of printing and paper.

In the case of Major Douglas we confined our criticism to his theory without troubling about his several schemes. In the case of Professor Soddy we need say little about his theory—that bank money is fictitious money—and deal at more length with his scheme, to show that it would not have the results he expects from it. The true nature of bank money is explained in the usual text-books on the theory of Credit. Only when banks cause inflation by creations of credit can bank money reasonably be called fictitious, and credit reformers generally find fault with the banks for not creating credit enough rather than too much. Ordinary persons who do not read economic text books can hardly be persuaded that the banks create money merely by their own *fiat*, seeing that the banks are so anxious to borrow money from the public that they pay interest to the public on their deposits.

Let us suppose an attempt to apply Professor Soddy's proposals. There is at first no change in the quantity of money. The only change is that, say, £2,000 millions of legal tender has replaced that amount of bank money. The banks may have the physical possession of the new money which has been deposited with them by its owners for safety and convenience. However, the circulation of money will be greatly slowed down. At present the banks can use, that is lend or invest, all the money placed with them except what they keep as a cash reserve, which we may estimate at about 10 per cent. of all their deposits. Half the deposits at present are on current

account, withdrawable on demand. This money, under the Soddy scheme, becomes completely immobilized for credit purposes. The banks cannot lend a penny of it, because the scheme requires them to keep a 100 per cent. cash reserve. The other half of deposits are withdrawable on notice, mostly very short notice such as seven days. Deposits withdrawable at seven days' notice would be available for loans running not more than seven days. The backbone of banking business, we are told by the late Mr. Leaf, Chairman of the Westminster Bank, is the seasonal or six-month loan. The banks would be able to make such loans only to the extent that they received deposits subject to six-months' notice. The Soddy scheme would thus cause a tremendous shrinkage of loanable funds; there would be the greatest "money-squeeze" ever experienced, rates of interest would rise sky-high, and there would be imminent danger of the prices of goods falling to ruinously low levels for producers.

Professor Soddy's remedy for the latter evil would be the increase of the money supply. As the State can manufacture money for the mere cost of printing, there would be no difficulty in creating billions if needed. Against all expert opinion, against all experience, one can even say against the results of deliberate experiments of the last few years, Professor Soddy believes that the price level can be regulated by additions to or subtractions from the money supply. Stabilization has become one of the most-discussed questions in economics, and there is now such a mass of literature about it that I need not give the reasons for doubting the practicability of stabilization schemes of much more modest scope than Professor Soddy's. The danger would exist of the scheme producing chaos at the very start owing to the unexampled monetary stringency through the immobilization of bank funds and the time factor needed for getting newly created money into circulation. However,

I will assume that this difficulty of the transition stage has been overcome. The decreased velocity of circulation of money has been compensated by its increased quantity. Abstraction made of any increase in wealth, and with no increase in prices, there is now two or three times as much money in the country as before. Owing to the freezing of bank deposits instead of their former fluidity, the country might well need ten times as much money as before. Whatever the amount of the increase, it represents money held and not circulated—in a word, money hoarded. For unless the issue of new money is counteracted by hoarding, there would be an increase in prices. All this hoarded money, probably running into thousands of millions, would be a new element of instability in the economic system. For hoards may be brought out and spent on goods at any time. All sorts of factors—political, economic, psychological—may change the public mood and cause a gust of buying which would threaten catastrophic effects on prices. Here the peril would be rising, not falling, prices, and under the Soddy scheme it would have to be counteracted by a reduction in the supply of money. How would the State get money quickly enough from the people ? Could taxation be doubled, trebled or increased tenfold in a day ? State loans might be subscribed for out of hoards with little diminution of spending when hoards were as immense as we must expect them to be under the Soddy scheme. And if it was distrust of money that had caused the spending wave, there might be a distrust of the Government which would make State loans difficult. The two principal objectives of Professor Soddy's scheme are the abolition of usury and the stabilization of the value of money. I have given reasons for thinking that the scheme would raise the rate of interest to fantastic heights in the first stages, and it would introduce a new and chronic element of instability in the value of money.

H. Somerville

FATHER THOMAS BURKE, O.P.

September 8, 1830—July 2, 1883

BY M. H. GAFFNEY, O.P.

FIFTY years ago the majestic eloquence of Father Thomas Burke thrilled for the last time the hearts of Irishmen, when the preacher stood in the pulpit of the Jesuit Church in Dublin to plead for the starving children of Donegal. He came to that pulpit from what was literally, and not by mere figure of speech, his death bed. The greyness of death was already in his countenance as he entered the pulpit; the grasp of death had already shaken his sturdy frame and robbed him of that immense vitality, strength and fire which radiated from him in the former days. And yet, when he opened his lips to speak, all his weakness fell from him, and he pleaded cogently, powerfully and awesomely for the little children of Donegal. A few days later he lay dead in Tallaght of the Friars, and his voice was hushed for evermore. It was a perfect finale to the life of Father Thomas Burke. It was right and just and fitting that he who had loved God and Ireland so well should leave behind him, as the last cadence of his eloquence, a plea for God's little ones who were faced with starvation in the Gaeltacht of Donegal.

This year the preacher deserves to be remembered, for not only did he leave his impress upon an Ireland emerging from persecution, and inspire it with hope and vision, but he infused strength and high courage into the young Catholicism of America. His itinerary in America alone is almost incredible. He went there on a canonical visitation of Dominican Convents, expecting to remain for a few weeks. The Americans held him for a year and a half. In Boston he addressed an audience

of nearly fifty thousand people—the largest audience ever gathered together until then in the United States. In those eighteen months he gave over four hundred lectures and preached so many special sermons that one is forced to the conclusion that America credited him with superhuman endurance. His early death, at the age of fifty-three, would suggest that he overtaxed his strength. But there was, apparently, no possibility of denying American enthusiasm. He had to face vast audiences throughout the length and breadth of the land. In New York, the Church of St. Paul was stormed several hours before he appeared in the pulpit. In Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and other cities unprecedented audiences hailed his appearance with almost frenzied welcome. His power during these months was incalculable. And, even without a careful chronicle of his unflagging activities, it is easy to see that this eloquent, saintly and patriotic priest wielded an extraordinary influence—that he was, in sober fact, one of the most powerful ambassadors of Ireland ever to leave our shores.

It needs scant imagination to picture him, the cynosure of tens of thousands of eyes, an erect and majestic figure in the black and white robes of his Order, electrifying hearts hostile or friendly, with a passionate and proud survey of the sorrows and glories of Ireland. Men who heard him have told me that he held them almost hypnotically when he spoke; that they forgot all things but the message of that mellow voice, rejoicing or weeping with its glory or its pain.

During his time in America, Father Burke was faced with a challenge which tested his mettle to the uttermost. The Irish people in America were writhing under the stinging lash of James Anthony Froude, an English historian who had been sent to the United States to justify the English occupation of Ireland. The Irish saw in Father Burke their champion. They besought him from all sides to take up the cudgels against Froude. They were

losing caste under the Englishman's furious onslaughts. Worse still, they were losing heart. And not without reason. For Froude was a writer and an orator of no mean ability—imaginative, facile, and (it would seem) sincerely convinced of the righteousness of his cause.

Father Burke entered the lists with him. In five able and noble lectures he undid all the injury that Froude had inflicted upon the Irish race. He treated Froude with great courtesy, ignoring his taunts and even paying tribute to his sincerity. But he was ruthless and devastating in his scrutiny of Froude's historical conclusions.

Father Burke's refutation of the sophistries of Froude was one of the most exacting of his public undertakings, not only because he had to confront a brilliant controversialist, but because his long training outside Ireland—he entered the Dominican novitiate at Perugia in 1847 at the age of seventeen—left him unready, as he confessed, to meet Froude's challenge. In the result, however, the brilliance of Froude made Father Burke's victory the more striking. Further, the priest's continental training, so far from being a handicap to him in the contest, seemed to have given him a surer and steadier perspective of Irish history. With a dignity that never stooped to personalities or to trivialities, Father Burke met all the accusations of Froude in a series of discourses so much above mere controversy as to be a masterly synthesis of seven centuries of Irish history.

> It is a strange fact [he said] that the old battle that has been raging for seven hundred years should continue here so far from the old land. The question on which I am come to speak to you is one that has been disputed at many a council board ; one that has been disputed in many a Parliament ; one that has been disputed on many a well-fought field and is not yet decided—the question between England and Ireland. Among the visitors to America who came over this year, there was one gentleman distinguished in Europe for his style of writing and his historical knowledge—the author of several works which have created a profound sensation, at least for their originality. Mr.

Froude has frankly stated that he came to this country to deal with England and the Irish question, viewing it from an English standpoint; that, like a true man, he came to America to make the best case he could for his own country; that he came to state that case to an American public as a grand jury and to demand a verdict from them, the most extraordinary that was ever demanded from any people—namely, a declaration that England was right in the manner in which she treated my native land for seven hundred years.

When Father Burke spoke these words, American opinion was drifting sullenly into a silence that might be construed as a consent to the accusations of Froude. It was an hour fraught with more peril than has ever been acknowledged. It was a time when American friendship for Ireland might easily have been permanently weakened, if not destroyed. If Froude had succeeded then, the history of Ireland since might possibly have been changed; nay, as any critical observer will admit, would certainly have been changed. Anyone who realises the enormous influence exerted by American friendship and financial aid, during the Irish struggle for Home Rule and, ultimately, for untrammelled freedom, will readily see the crucial importance of the task which Father Burke undertook in preserving America's goodwill towards Ireland. Father Burke saw the import of his task. "I come here," he said, "to vindicate the honour of Ireland and her history. I come here lest any man should say in this our day that Ireland is to be left without a son to speak for the mother that bore him."

The series of discourses, to which this declaration was a prelude, astounded Froude himself, and enkindled in the scattered Irish race an enthusiastic faith in their national destiny and a flaming love for their motherland. Father Burke stirred America and Ireland to the depths not less by his vigorous eloquence than by the ruthless logic with which he parried and beat down the adroit thrusts of his antagonist. And, as so often happened in

England's efforts to wean sympathy away from her subject peoples, England's emissary failed. From shore to shore the verdict rang in the words of Father Burke :—

> The history of English government's connection with Ireland is a history of injustice ; it is a history of heartlessness ; and it is, above all, a history of blundering want of tact ; not knowing what to do with the people ; never understanding them ; knowing nothing at all of their genius, their prejudices, and the shape and form of their national character.

But, as has been said, Father Burke did much more than refute Froude. He stayed (and he has never received due credit for his achievement) the attrition of the exiled Irish people and consolidated them into a unity which they had almost lost when they left the shores of Ireland. He did more than any Irishman to undo the inevitable weakness of the Irish diaspora. That, rather than his refutation of Froude's sophistries, was his real triumph.

The sheer eloquence of his personal appeal to all the sons of Ireland glows even from the printed line. It leaps to the eyes from every cold page of reporters' notes during the controversy. It must have been irresistible, this unforced, spontaneous eloquence :—

> I say to you Irishmen, just as you are as conservative in your faith as you can be, on the grand question of the freedom of the old land be as liberal, as large-hearted and as truly united. . . . Then shall the future, seen by the prophetic eye of Grattan, when he hailed his Ireland as an independent Nation, be realised by the men of to-day. Then shall the dream of the lover and the aspiration of the patriot shine forth in the glory of its fulfilment ; when domestic laws, made by Irishmen for Ireland and for Irishmen, shall govern the state affairs of Ireland ; when every want of Ireland will be the solicitude of loving Irish minds and intellects ; when every Irishman will have the place paramount in the deliberations of an Irish Parliament ; when, from out the intellect and fulness of the heart of Ireland, in the future day, shall beam around my motherland and realise the glories of days long past,

the sun that has set for so many years in clouds of blood—but which shall rise serenely in the new Orient of Freedom for dear old, much-loved Ireland.

The Irish-Americans tried to keep Father Burke in America. The priest may have been lonely when he said farewell to them, but when he reached the shores of Ireland he received a welcome that a king might envy. And, as though to crown his apostolic and patriotic activities, Pope Pius IX honoured him at this time with the title of Prince of Preachers.

One must say, at once, that a modern writer is severely handicapped in dealing with the labours of Father Burke, for the priest's lectures printed can be nothing more than dim reflections of his lectures spoken; and the generation that knew him has almost vanished away. And one cannot but be nonplussed by the astonishing fact that, out of his thousands of sermons, only half a hundred remain in printed form. Even his published sermons are but casual newspaper reports, so defective that Father Burke, when they were collected in one volume, prefaced them with an apology for their publication, and said that he would never have permitted their publication if it had been in his power to prevent it. "There is no pretension to anything like style in these lectures," he continues, "as they are merely, with some exceptions, the newspaper reports hastily revised." Consequently, the copies of Father Burke's sermons which we possess are a hindrance, rather than a help, towards gauging his position as a pulpit orator. Many of his contemporaries, however, have recorded their impressions. The Rev. Chancellor Tisdall, a distinguished Protestant preacher, heard him one evening in the Dominican Church, Dublin, and wrote that he had seldom listened to a more admirable discourse :—

> The preacher's mode of treating his subject, and the application and peroration were among the most powerful specimens of pulpit oratory I ever heard. Occasionally, his bursts of oratory somewhat reminded me of Lacordaire.

Rev. Dr. Lilly, O.P., writes of Father Burke :—

I doubt if any living member of the Dominican Order can compare with Father Burke as an orator. Père Monsabré, at Notre Dame, is the only living Dominican who can sway the masses with a power equal to his. Monsabré and Burke were trained in the same school, and they resemble each other in many particulars. Both are endowed with the same fervid temperament and the same unfailing command of language.

Higher still is the tribute paid to Father Burke by the Rev. Nicholas Walsh, the Provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland :—

I believe that Father Burke, taking him for all in all, was the greatest, the most illustrious and the most extraordinary preacher of whom we have any record. A study of the lives of great preachers of the time of Massillon, Bourdaloue, Bossuet, and Segneri, shows that they were men who either preached not often in the year, or who had abundance of time to prepare. They generally stood in the pulpit of some magnificent cathedral on some extraordinary occasion, amidst surroundings which stimulated and inspired. Some of them never preached under two months notice ; others, like Segneri and Bourdaloue, had their three months of unbroken retirement to prepare their Latin conferences. Others, like Massillon and Bossuet, could, from their very position, command their own time.

Continuing, Father Walsh puts his finger firmly on the reason why any comparison of Father Burke with the great continental preachers is unreasonable. He does not conceal his conviction that Father Burke, placed in their circumstances, would have proved greater than them all :—

To picture one of these illustrious preachers, not only preaching often in his own church, but hurrying, for twenty-five years, through the length and breadth of the land, or of three lands, at the beck of every struggling nun and curate, bishop, parish priest, and charitable institution, preaching on every Sunday and holiday—at times thrice a week, sometimes thrice a day, with, for nine long years, an insidious disease torturing and wearing his life—such a picture of any one of those illustrious preachers would be a caricature because unreal. We read of nothing like this in the lives of those men. And yet we all know it to have been for years the life of Father Burke.

In his criticism, Father Walsh keeps a fair equipoise (which many of Father Burke's critics lose) in making quite clear the difficulties under which Father Burke laboured. To compare Father Burke with the illustrious exponents of Christian oratory and to forget how severely he was handicapped is to court a false and unfair conclusion. Further, the circumstances in which he laboured differed sharply from those in which lived Monsabré, Lacordaire, and the other great orators of the last century. Fitzpatrick, in his preface to the Life of Father Burke, admits this: "Great as Father Burke was as an orator, he would have stood higher as a thinker had circumstances arisen to reveal the depth and resources of his mind. But it was not his lot to be mixed up with any great public questions; his history is little more than a personal one." And the reader may put in contrast with this statement the following from Père Chocarne's *Life of Lacordaire*:—

> Père Lacordaire seemed to have been sent providentially .... His great mission was to show that, far from being radically opposed to one another, reason and faith, science and religion, society and the church, might be harmoniously united; and that outside of Christianity there is no complete life either for man or society.

Thus it was. Père Lacordaire found his unique mission clear and his pulpit ready set. Father Burke found his apostolate not unique but multitudinous, and his tenure of every pulpit was fugitive in comparison with Lacordaire's security in the pulpit of Notre Dame. As Father Walsh has implied in the words quoted above, it redounds to the glory of Father Burke that, despite his ceaseless, almost restless, activities, his name is held in as high reverence as the names of Lacordaire and the other serene Christian orators of the last century.

It is not surprising, however, in spite of diverse circumstances in which they lived and diverse national traditions which they inherited, to find a fundamental

similarity between the eloquence of the continental Dominican preachers and that of Father Burke. Their common vocation gives to their preaching that doctrinal basis which is the cachet of the Dominican. They are never mere exhorters of their people, never mere orators or "preachers of penance," but veritable doctors of the truth of Christ. They shun superficiality and penetrate to reality. Take, for example, this characteristic excerpt from a sermon of Father Burke on the Catholic Church :—

> In order to represent, even in His Sacred Humanity, the essential principle of unity, Christ assumed that nature into His Divinity ; so that out of the human body, the human soul and God—out of these three—was formed the One Person, One Saviour, Christ, and that Person was Divine. He was still One and only One—even though He was God and Man. He united them in One. Every act of His, even though performed in His Humanity, was still the act of God ; because the Person who assumed the humanity, and who owned it, and who acted in it, was God. Why did He do this ? Because Christ, Our Lord, being God and infinitely perfect, was essentially One. Now, the design of Christ was to represent upon earth and to create amongst men the principle of unity of thought, unity of mind, unity of heart, which was so perfect in Himself, and which He declared should be represented in His Church. Therefore, He laid upon all mankind the obligation of fraternal charity ; for in charity is a golden bond and hearts are united. Therefore, also, did He impose the obligation of faith, because in faith is an intellectual bond ; all minds are united in the union of one belief, of one thought. And unity—the unity of God—springs up in its representation in that society which is the Mystical Body of Christ.

This excerpt is a fairly good example of Father Burke's power of bringing deep doctrinal truths within the ken of the people. He had, in the words of Cardinal Manning, "the grandest talent that man can possess, that of popularising theology." Laymen, too, appreciated this gift of Father Burke. "Lent after Lent, Advent after Advent," says a member of St. Saviour's congregation, "he continued to give powerful and instructive discourses, often preaching three times in the course of one

day. The lessons he taught sank deeply into many a heart, and abide there still."

As Father Burke grew older, his labours grew greater. His activity seemed almost a miracle. And yet, from the time of his return from America in 1873 until his death ten years later, he was racked with the pain of an internal ulceration and frequently fainted under the torture. Those years, nevertheless, were the most laborious of his whole life. During this period one of his brethren wrote of him: "The world may speak of the great scholar and splendid orator, but those in daily and hourly contact with him can speak of his unvarying sweetness of disposition, his tender piety, his complete self-abnegation, his marvellous modesty. The one thing that could bring a cloud to his face was to single him out in any way for distinction. Truly, he was to us all a splendid example of humility."

It is impossible to understand the public life of Father Burke at all unless one knows something of his hidden sanctity. His public life was one of immense labour, loud with the applause and adulation of men, distracting, unsteadying and dazzling. But in the fever and stress of his public life, Father Burke kept intact his deep spirit of prayer, his lowliness of heart, and his obedience. He never permitted his labours to obtrude upon that contemplation to which every Dominican is bound. Consequently, he never lost the true perspective of things. He never forgot that he was a priest commissioned to preach Christ and not himself. This it was that profoundly impressed Cardinal Manning and drew from his Eminence the declaration that the priest's eloquence was powerful because so simple, because in all he spoke for God, remembered God and forgot himself, because, in the pathos and beauty and light of what he spoke, God was remembered and the preacher forgotten.

Father Burke's long season of suffering brought out the greatness of his self-sacrifice. When he rose from

his deathbed to preach for the children of Donegal, he did precisely what those who knew him best would have expected him to do in the circumstances. And Father Burke would be the first to consider his action as the obvious one, quite normal and devoid of heroism. All his life through he had put others first and himself last. Again and again we find him conquering his weakness and pain to work for others. He was stretched upon a bed of agony when the call came to him to preach at the opening of the Dominican Priory in London. But he would not plead his illness as an excuse. That would mean disappointment for his brethren. He went, and one of his biographers writes of this effort: "Those who saw him then, who heard the five sublime discourses with which he enthralled his audience, and who saw how, after those superb displays of oratory, he dragged himself back to his bed of ceaseless pain, there to regain strength for his next effort, looked on him with a sort of awe, as upon a man whose whole desire was to spend himself and be spent in the service of God and his neighbour." This self-sacrifice runs through all the years of Father Burke, consistent and steady, from the time of his early priesthood in England to that hour when he spent the last lees of his vitality to plead for little children.

He died on the Feast of Our Lady's Visitation. It may be more than a coincidence that he who loved Our Lady so tenderly should be born on one of her great festivals and should die on another. His devotion to Mary was deep and fervent. He never opened his lips to preach without having first invoked her aid. Rarely do his sermons reach such levels of lyric beauty as when they tell of her glories: "Mary arose. The earth beheld her face. Her coming was as the rising of the morning star, which, trembling in its silvery beauty over the eastern hills, tells the silent and darkened world that the sun is about to follow it and to dispel the darkness of the night by the splendours of the brightness of its shining."

Father Burke shared that homely, personal love which the Irish people cherish for the Mother of God. Her Rosary he kept always near him. "I would sleep soundly in the crater of Vesuvius," he used to say, "if I had my Rosary beads in my hands." His biographer says that his lifelong love of the Blessed Virgin intensified, if possible, during his last ten years. "The great devotion of the Rosary, into which Saint Dominic first breathed life, he invested with renewed strength and efficacy. Sleeping or waking, walking or working, his fingers always held the tangible pearls of the Rosary."

Linked with Father Burke's devotion to Our Lady and his self-abnegation, was a spirit of humility which was proof against every temptation. He had to suffer adulation and applause, submit to lionizing, and taste the heady wine of popularity. But always he remained humble of heart. "In spite of his immense popularity and the almost universal request in which he lived," writes one of his biographers, "the praises of men had no power to spoil one so deeply grounded in humility and meekness." Father Burke seems to have guarded his humility most sedulously. And in its defence he conscripted efficaciously his inimitable humour and ready wit. He could, on occasion, startle an aristocratic coterie with the statement that he had to go home and polish his shoes; and meet their horror with the further statement that, if he were not a priest, he might have no shoes at all. He was humble enough to dislike intensely the possibility of ever wielding the episcopal crozier; so he set out deliberately to create in official circles the impression that he was a finished playboy, unfit for serious responsibilities. He succeeded in deceiving many by his pranks. Nevertheless, his own brethren elected him Provincial; but they dispensed him from that important office when he protested his lack of seriousness. Two or three times his name was mentioned for a bishopric; but, at the psychological moment of official

decision, he was ready with some joke or prank to prove that he was too frivolous to wear the mitre with due solemnity. When he was Prior of San Clemente in Rome, he saved himself from the episcopate by a story about a certain very stout and aristocratic English lady who came to receive the Pope's benediction. According to Father Burke's own version, the Holy Father expressed his amazement that the lady should have undertaken so arduous a journey to salute him. "But," said Father Burke, "does not Your Holiness know that faith moves mountains?" That tale went the rounds in Rome; and all concurred in the opinion that the Prior of San Clemente had little of the staidness required in a Bishop.

Even into the intimacies of his home life this persistent attempt at self-effacement penetrated. One cannot read without a smile of the great preacher discussing gravely with his holy old mother in Galway the triumphs of Father Tom Burke. The old woman would thank God in his presence for raising up this great preacher to defend Ireland and the Catholic Church. And Father Burke would demurely agree. The old mother would look at Father Tom out of the corner of her eye, saying nothing, but wondering what ruin would overtake her Galway boy if he were as great and as illustrious as this magnificent preacher. Father Tom would be silent and lugubrious and a little apologetic. It is almost incredible; but, until the day of his mother's death, Father Burke kept her under the impression that "the great Father Tom Burke" was a Franciscan Father who bore the same name as himself! He would not permit even his own mother to rate him at his real worth.

He played the same game with the young novices in Tallaght. They idolised him. He made them correct his sermons for him. He countered their hero-worship by methods which only he could invent. But with the novices he failed to achieve his objective; for these youths, simpler and more clear-eyed, more intuitive than

the men of the world who thought Father Burke frivolous, pierced the veneer of jocosity and got at the authentic man beneath. I have had the happiness of living with some of them, and I know how completely he then won loyalties that fifty years have not sullied.

Father Burke's last years were full of suffering so grave and intense that he was often delirious with pain. During these last years he found a new use for his radiant humour. He succeeded in hiding his pain by continuing the play-boyishness which had saved him from many bishoprics. He never lost that exquisite gaiety which belonged to him from his Galway boyhood. Once, when near his death, he entertained his novices by pretending he was writhing under the agonies which really racked him. In the midst of his histrionics he fainted away from pain. He opened his eyes slowly to find the novices gazing at him in smiling admiration of his marvellous acting. He seized the situation at once, and recovered most realistically from his faint, sat up in his chair, and said: "Now, lads, could any one of you beat that?" He was essentially a boy all his life long.

But why talk about all those intimate things of Father Burke's life? Perhaps one may suggest that they put upon his magnificent public life the tiny cachet of authentic holiness. If they do, the life of the priest is complete and finished. Even his old mother in Heaven would be content with her son. Well may she be. Burke was not common clay.

M. H. Gaffney

IRISH BENEDICTINES IN NUREMBERG

An Examination of the "Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg."

BY REV. PATRICK J. BARRY, PH.D.

Part II [1]

IN the following pages I shall not deal with the opening paragraphs of the *Chronicle* which are based on the *Vita Mariani Scoti* nor with the section entitled *De Structuris Monasterii*. I shall deal only with passages which relate to conditions in the monastery previous to the reform of the year 1418.

The solemn warning of Bishop Lampertus of Bamberg[2] is alleged to have taken place after the Dominicans in Nuremberg had been "reformed." This "reformation" was effected by Blessed Raymond of Capua in the year 1396. Bishop Lampert resigned his see and died in the year 1399. His warning to the *Scoti* of *St. Aegidius* is mentioned only by the *Chronicle*. The great histories of Bamberg Diocese[3] produce no archival corroboration of it. It is at least inherently possible that the warning was given consequent on complaints by the townsmen. But, on the other hand, it is to be noted that the *Chronicle* knows nothing of, or passes over in silence, a visitation of *St. Aegidius* by Abbot Philippus of *St. James*, Ratisbon, on June 23, 1396. The abbots of *St. James* enjoyed this authority by a custom dating at least from the thirteenth century. There are records of two other such visitations towards the end of the fourteenth century (1370 and

[1] For Part I see issue of last December.

[2] *Cf.* Studies, Dec. 1932, p. 581.

[3] Johann Looshorn, *Die Geschichte des Bistums Bamberg nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, Munich, 1900. Aemil. Ussermann, *Episcopatus Bambergensis*, San Blasian, 1801. Johann P. Ludewig, *Scriptores Rerum Episcopatus Bambergen.* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1718.

1374). They were not mere formalities, as we know from an instance at Erfurt in 1393 where the abbot of *St. James* temporarily removed the abbot of the *Schottenkloster* at Erfurt for maladministration.[1]

THE FIRST VISITATION

The statement of the *Chronicle* is that the "aforementioned bishop"—*i.e.* Lampertus of Bamberg—appointed visitors to reform the monastery and to prescribe remedies for abuses prevailing in it. This visitation, it is said, took place *in the year* 1411 *or* 1412.[2] But Bishop Lampert died in the year 1399.[3] The author of the *Chronicle* certainly conveys it that Bishop Lampert was responsible for a visitation in the year 1411 or 1412; for, in connection with the second visitation, the name of Bishop Albert (1399-1421) is introduced formally for the first time.

The date assigned to this visitation gives rise to another difficulty. The first visitation is said to have taken place in the year 1411 or 1412. To the second visitation no date is expressly assigned; but it is said to have taken place "five years or more" before the third visitation. Now the third visitation took place in March, 1416. It follows, therefore, that the second visitation took place in 1411 or 1410; that is, there were two visitations in 1411 or the second took place before the first.

The assignment of the first visitation to Bishop Lampert and the incongruity of the date gives rise to doubt. We note also that the names of the visitors are not given, as they are in the case of the second and third visitations. Furthermore, three novices were imported after the first visitation in 1411 or 1412. Four novices were imported

[1] Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv, Urk. S. Jac. Fasc.* 3 *no.* 24, Buchner (*Bayerische Gesch.* VI, 240) and Janner (*Gesch. der Bischöfe von Regensburg*, III, 342) speak of Abbot Philippus as an excellent monk and administrator.

[2] *Cf.* STUDIES, Dec. 1932, p. 581.

[3] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, I, 127. Colomannus or his editor, Oefele, substitutes Albertus (B. of Bamberg 1399-1421) for Lampertus.

after the second visitation, which (following the *Chronicle*) must be dated 1411 or 1410. In the first case the Bishop sent a messenger with letters to certain princes and prelates. In the second case the Bishop and Abbot and some others sent a written request to certain princes and prelates. Yet though the interval is short, or a minus quantity, two visitations by two successive bishops took place; two embassies were sent to Ireland; three novices came in response to the first and four to the second; yet the first novices to arrive have had time to grow tired of religious life and to run here and there through Germany and set out for home before the second visitation was inaugurated. The two visitations surely tend to coalesce into one. Is the *Chronicle* multiplying incidents?

In one detail it is possible to produce corroboration. Of the last four novices said to have come from Ireland, the *Chronicle* states that one alone remained till after the death of the last abbot, Mauritius (Sep. 1418). This statement is borne out by the letter of Abbot Donatus.[1] But the letter of Donatus states that the departure of the other novices was recent. Hence we cannot suppose that they arrived in Germany as early as 1411 or 1412.

The *Chronicle* furthermore tells us that the introduction of secular priests into the monastery was a consequence of the first visitation of 1411 or 1412.[2] From other sources than the *Chronicle* we are able to say with certainty that long before the visitation here mentioned there were secular priests in the monastery as vicars or curates. Three German priests, described as priests of *St. Aegidius*, witnessed the record of the visitation of the monastery

[1] The letter of Donatus will be examined in detail later. It was addressed to the Burgraves of Nuremberg, Oct. 1418, to protest against the action of the city authorities and of the German monks in depriving the *Scoti* of their monastery.

[2] Secundo etiam ordinaverunt dicti visitatores quod propter defectum personarum scoticae nationis quas se abbas nullatenus dicebat posse habere, octo religiosos de aliis monasteriis ordinis Sancti Benedicti assumerentur si habere possent. Sin autem quod tunc totidem sacerdotes saeculares reciperentur ne monasterium sic divinis officiis tam lamentabiliter viduatum existeret et eisdem per provisores de redditibus monasterii providerentur prout possibile foret. Et quoniam non inveniebantur religiosi devoti qui ibi stare vellent, per plures annos saeculares sacerdotes loco fratrum ipsum inhabitabant (*Chronicle*).

by Abbot Matthaeus of Ratisbon, Jan. 21, 1384. Conrad Grossmund, a priest of *St. Aegidius*, witnessed the visitation of Abbot Philippus, June 23, 1396. And the same Conrad Grossmund in a document of April 1, 1406, is described as senior vicar of *St. Aegidius*.[1] The presence of junior vicars is therefore implied.

The examination of the narrative of this first visitation gives rise only to doubt and uncertainty.

The Second and Third Visitations

The second visitation was instituted by Bishop Albertus of Bamberg, whose name is now introduced for the first time. The names of the visitors are given. We know otherwise that they were ecclesiastics of importance. They ordered the Abbot to procure from some source six Benedictine priests and three novices. He applied to Kastl and Reichenbach and elsewhere, but in vain because of the bad reputation of the monastery. Finally three monks came from the monastery of Neuberg near Fulda. One of them, Frater Bertholdus, was made prior. The statements regarding the Abbot's appeal to Kastl and Reichenbach and the presence of monks from Fulda I have not been able to control by means of other sources.

The monks from Fulda, however, were said to have been at *St. Aegidius* five years or more. They were on the point of departing when Bishop Albertus prevailed on them to tarry, as he was about to proceed to a more careful reform of the monastery. Hence a third visitation took place in March 1416. This statement enables us to say that (according to the *Chronicle*) the second visitation must have taken place in 1410 or 1411, since the Fulda monks were five years or more at *St. Aegidius* some time previous to March 1416.

I have not been able to find any record of the second and third episcopal visitations, but I have no reason to

[1] Original record of Visitation in Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Fasc. 3, no. 21 and no. 24; Nuremberg, *Stadtarchiv*, Rep. 89, no. 70.

doubt that they took place. The names of the visitors are precisely given, and the letter of Donatus (to be discussed later) implies that Bishop Albertus of Bamberg had a part in ousting the *Scoti* from *St. Aegidius*.

Now, according to the *Chronicle*, it was this visitation of March 1416 that provoked the Irish abbots of the monasteries in Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Ratisbon to appeal to King Sigismund for protection. This statement is incorrect. We know for certain that they appealed to him some time previous to July 11, 1415. They requested him to place the monastery under the protection of the Burgraves of Nuremberg—an indication to us that they are experiencing pressure about that time from the town authorities of Nuremberg or from the bishop of Bamberg or from both. They as well as the king were in Constance for the Council. On the date mentioned King Sigismund granted their request. According to the charter then granted to them the abbot and convent of *St. Aegidius* are to expect protection from the Burgraves Friedrich and Johann and from no one else. This charter was, no doubt, in the archives of the monastery at the time the *Chronicle* was composed. It is still extant in the *Stadtarchiv*, Nuremberg (Rep. 89 ad 71). Why does the *Chronicle* make no reference to it?

The *Chronicle* passes over in silence also the document recording the mutual agreement between Abbot Mauritius and the Burgraves by which, in accordance with the charter of King Sigismund, the monastery was acknowledged to be under the protection of the Burgraves.[1] On the contrary the *Chronicle* represents the defence of the monastery by Burgrave Johann and his detention of its rent book as quite unjustified.[2] It does not in any way suggest a connection between the action of the Burgraves and the order of King Sigismund. And finally the *Chronicle* is silent about the fact that it was only in

[1] Nuremberg, *Stadtarchiv*, Rep. 89 ad 71. *Monumenta* Zollerana, VII, 419.
[2] *Cf.* STUDIES, Dec. 1932, pp. 584, 585.

1426, at a moment when he badly needed the assistance of the townsmen of Nuremberg against the Hussites, that Sigismund consented to withdraw the monastery from the protection of the Burgraves and to place it under the protection of the town of Nuremberg. To the importance of the local political significance of this matter I shall return later. But it is worth while noting that the *Chronicle* does not tell the whole story, neglects to take account of documents, misrepresents the action of the Burgraves and is in error as to facts.

Agreement to receive German Monks

In accordance with the resolutions of the Chapter at Petershausen, Abbot Mauritius, under pressure from the town authorities, bound himself in an agreement drawn up before a notary to receive monks of the German nation into his monastery.[1] To give effect to this agreement Abbot Mauritius sent *frequent* letters and messengers to St. Mary's Monastery, Reichenbach, supplicating its Abbot to be good enough to send at once certain Brothers to introduce and to continue the reformation at *St. Aegidius*, and stating that he would be willing to admit two of these Brothers to profession. The Abbot and monks of Reichenbach were at first very reluctant to consent, *because of the ill fame of the monastery and of the nation of the Scoti.* They yielded at last to the petitions of the Abbot and of other good men. Such is the version of the *Chronicle.*

It chances that this same incident is reported by a monk who must have been at Reichenbach when the request came from Nuremberg. We do not know his name—he is the Anonymous Chronicler of Reichenbach—and his Chronicle was composed about 1427. According to Oefele, who printed his Chronicle, he was an ingenuous character and a lover of the truth.[2] Now this monk of

[1] STUDIES, Dec. 1932, p. 586.
[2] Oefele, *Script.* Rer. *Boic.* Vol. I, p. 400.

Reichenbach tells us that, in the second year of the abbacy of Abbot Lazarus Kretzel (1418), the Consuls of the city of Nuremberg sent representatives to Reichenbach requesting the Abbot to send brothers to institute the discipline of regular life in *St. Aegidius*. Therefore, after hearing these representatives and feeling that a business of this kind came from the Holy Ghost, Abbot Lazarus *made no delay*, but sent six professed brothers and one lay-brother on the Wednesday after *Invocavit*, 1418. Two remained in *St. Aegidius*—viz. Conrad Palbein and George Möringer. The latter was the first abbot after the departure of the *Scoti*; and brother Conrad was for many years the prior.[1]

The author of the *Chronicle* wrote his version of the story about 1460; the monk of Reichenbach wrote his about 1427, with every opportunity of knowing what actually happened. The former is very emphatic about the evil reputation of the monastery; it is something notorious—the cause of hesitation or refusal on the part of neighbouring abbots to send any of their monks thither. The monk of Reichenbach merely says that the deficiency of the monastery in spiritualities and temporalities was the reason alleged by the deputation from Nuremberg for their request to the abbot.

The author of the *Chronicle* asserts that Abbot Mauritius repeatedly[2] requested the Abbot of Reichenbach for monks. The repeated requests were made by messengers and letters. The monk of Reichenbach, on the other hand, says that the request was made by the Consuls of the city of Nuremberg. Abbot Mauritius did not send a letter or a messenger even once.

[1] Anno ordinationis suae secundo consules civitatis Nurnbergensis mittunt legatos ad eum rogantes quatenus sibi fratres destinari ad regularis vitae disciplinam instituendam in monasterio S. Aegidii ad Scotos, per quos tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus bonis fuerat destitutum. Igitur huiuscemodi legatione suscepta animadvertit vir prudens negotium huiusmodi provenire a Domini Spiritu. Unde *nihil cunctatus* sex fratres cum uno converso illuc direxit anno Domini mccccxviii feria quarta post Invocavit etc. *Loc. cit.* p. 404.

[2] . . . . . misit saepius nuntios suos atque literas ad dominum abbatem et conventum monasterii Beatae Mariae in Reichenbach, etc.—*Chronicle.*

According to the *Chronicle* the Abbot and convent of Reichenbach were at first very reluctant and yielded only after repeated petitions from Abbot Mauritius and others. The monk of Reichenbach, on the other hand, says that his abbot made no delay in accepting the invitation. *Nihil cunctatus*, he sent six professed monks and one lay brother to *St. Aegidius*.

Having compared these two accounts of the same event I think it safe to conclude that we have not in the *Chronicle* an unbiassed account of the *Scoti*. There is evidence here of the author's tendency to darken their character unduly. He has already told us that, on the occasion of the second visitation also, the Abbots of Kastl and Reichenbach, on being requested, refused to send monks to *St. Aegidius* because of its evil reputation. Can we now give complete credence to the uncorroborated assertion ?

On Wednesday, Feb. 16, 1418, as the *Chronicle* and other sources tell us, seven or eight monks set out from Reichenbach for *St. Aegidius*. But the *Chronicle* tells us nothing of a Bull issued at Constance a month later by Martin V directing the Bishop of Chur and the Abbots of *St. James* (Würzburg) and of *St. Aegidius* (Nuremberg) to resist all who were trespassing on their rights in violation of ecclesiastical constitutions and to strike the trespassers with excommunication unless they desist from extortion and restore the goods they are unjustly retaining.[1] This Bull had certainly some bearing on the situation in *St. Aegidius*, but for some reason remained inoperative.

The Election of Abbot Georgius Moringer[2]

The *Chronicle* tells us that Abbot Georgius was elected unanimously and that his election was confirmed by Bishop Albert four days after the death of Abbot Mauritius (d. Sep. 4, 1418). He was publicly installed on

[1] *Archiv des hist. Vereins v. Unterfranken u. Aschaffenburg*, Bd. XVI, Heft, 2.
[2] *Cf.* STUDIES, Dec. 1932, p. 587.

the following Sunday, Sep. 29, 1418. This narrative can be supplemented from two documents emanating from Abbot Donatus, Irish abbot of *St. James*, Ratisbon. They are strictly contemporary with the election and what followed it. One is a notarial instrument in Latin of Oct. 4, 1418, containing his protest against the many illegalities involved in the election of Abbot Georgius Möringer. It contains also the notice of his appeal to the Holy See. The other document is a letter which he wrote to the Burgraves of Nuremberg from Ratisbon soon after his return thither in October, 1418. It is written in Middle High German and preserved in a contemporary paper copy.[1]

From these two we can piece together the following story. On hearing of the death of Abbot Mauritius, Abbot Donatus came at once to Nuremberg " with *Scoti* to take possession of the Monastery and to elect an Abbot from the *Scoti* and thus provide for the maintenance of the monastery and of Divine Service therein, as was his duty as Superior of all the *Scoti* in German lands." [2] But Conrad Cingel (the lay trustee or administrator representing the city council) and the German monks would not permit him to enter the monastery. They would not permit him—nay they prevented him by violence from calling on the Burgraves. He learned too that they had forced Brother Cormac (the only Irish monk remaining in the monastery) to give his consent to the election of Georgius Möringer and had prevented his sending a notification of the death of Abbot Mauritius to Ratisbon. Abbot Donatus went, therefore, to the city council to complain against the monks and particularly against the administrator, Conrad Cingel. The council merely

[1] Both documents are in the *Stadtarchiv*, Nuremberg, Rep. 89, ad 70

[2] The Abbot of *St. James* (Ratisbon) enjoyed acknowledged rights over the other Irish monasteries in Germany. It was his privilege to visit and correct them ; to summon their abbots to Ratisbon and to pronounce judgment upon them ; and upon the death of any of them he should be informed of the fact, and the consequent election could not be held validly until he was present either personally or by proxy. Hence the vigour of his protest against the proceeding of Georgius Möringer.

informed him that they had nothing to do with the matter. And yet, Donatus says, he knew that if Cingel had not the favour and help of the council, he would never have dared to act as he did.

SOLEMN PROTEST OF ABBOT DONATUS

The doors of the monastery closed to him and the council having turned a deaf ear to his complaints, nothing was left but to register a formal complaint. He procured a public notary and a witness, the schoolmaster at *St. Aegidius*, and repaired to the monastery church. There, before the altar of the Holy Cross, as the *Pater abbas matricularius, visitator pariter et corrector omnium monasteriorum, abbatum et fratrum ybernice nationis in Alemannia constitutorum*, he protested solemnly against what had been done, while he held in his hand a paper containing his appeal to Pope Martin V. He read this appeal in the presence of the notary and witness, and bade the notary make due publication of the fact.[1]

On his return to Ratisbon he wrote to the Burgraves of his treatment at Nuremberg. When in Nuremberg (he said) the council warned him to commit no breach of the law (*Frevel*); but the only breach of law he was guilty of was his refusal to be silent under grave injustice. Conrad Cingel (*der Zingerl*), the trustee of the monastery, was the chief trouble-maker. Recently (*näwleich*) he had sent home to Ireland two *Scoti* and had given either of them but a Rhenish gulden for expenses. He had treated the *Scoti* harshly when *their only fault was that they had not sufficient monks.* The election of George Möringer without the participation of the Abbot of Ratisbon was against God and right, as was also the confirmation of the same by the Bishop of Bamberg. This was a proceeding

[1] Notarial instrument in *Stadtarchiv*, Nuremberg, Rep. 89, ad 70.

he had not expected from the Bishop of Bamberg. Against all the injustices and illegalities of the city council, of Conrad Cingel, of the German abbot and monks of *St. Aegidius*, of the Bishop of Bamberg, he complains " with sorrowful heart and tearful eyes." [1] He begs their lordships to take pity on him and his monks, who are poor and helpless pilgrims in a strange land, so that once more they may come into possession of their monastery, and that Möringer and the German monks may be ejected. Eject them by violence if necessary. In that there is no wrong ; for they have intruded themselves unlawfully, contrary to the bulls of popes and the charters of emperors, kings, and princes. The recent election and confirmation of the abbot had no validity, because he was not a Scot ; and those who elected him had no right to a vote, save one alone, who was put under duress and prevented from notifying the Abbot of Ratisbon. Furthermore, since the said abbot and monks and Cingel have transgressed the rights of the monastery and violently invaded it contrary to the charters of popes and emperors, they are liable to the fine of three hundred gold marks as set forth in the charter of Henry VII, and this fine might be demanded and collected from them with perfect justice.[2] Since *St. Aegidius* was founded for *Scoti* and for them alone and since at the present time there are *Scoti* in sufficient numbers who will gladly and willingly occupy the monastery and observe the rule, the self-styled abbot Möringer and his monks are no better than house-breakers ; and though it is no sin or crime to eject such people from one's house, yet their lordships might not wish to use violence against the trespassers at *St. Aegidius* ; but the trespassers might be starved out by preventing all income and rentals from reaching them.

And then their lordships might also write to the Holy

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[1] mit versertem hertzen und vaynunden augen.

[2] The reference is to the earliest preserved charter of the monastery, granted by Henry VII, July 2, 1225. (Wölckern, *Hist. Nur. Dipl.*, p. 50 no. VI.)

Father, recounting the injustice the *Scoti* had suffered by the foregoing violation of all papal, imperial, royal, and princely charters ; and thus what was done by the Bishop of Bamberg and by Möringer and his monks might be revoked and condemned, and Möringer and his monks might be expelled, and the *Scoti* be reinstated in possession of their monastery ; and thus, too, might be invalidated and nullified all documents, charters, deeds, contracts, etc., enacted by the city of Nuremberg, by Cingel or by Möringer in violation of the papal and imperial guarantees that the *Scoti* had long enjoyed. And their lordships are also requested to write in the same tenor to the most illustrious prince and lord, Sigmund, Roman and Hungarian King. The letter then concludes : " Kindly and graciously have pity on us because of our misery, oppression, and destruction, and also *because we are yours.* In return we shall ever direct to God our constant and humble prayers for your princely favour." . . *Signed* : Donat, by God's grace, Abbot of St. James, Ratisbon ; Supreme Abbot, Visitor, and Corrector of all abbots and monks of the *Scoti* in German lands, together with the convent of St. James, Ratisbon, the humble chaplain of their princely Graces.

The letter of Donatus is a contemporary document written at the height of the dispute, shortly after the death of Abbot Mauritius and the hastened election of Abbot Georgius in October 1418. It is a document representing the point of view of the *Scoti*—one-sided to that extent. The chief emotion of Abbot Donatus, as he wrote the letter, seems to have been an unaffected indignation at what had been done at *St. Aegidius* and at the treatment he had received. If the charges contained in the *Chronicle* had been current as he wrote, would he not have made some attempt to refute or excuse them in the eyes of the Burgraves ? The letter, however, betrays no consciousness of accusations of moral delinquency such as we find pictured in the *Chronicle.* Conrad Cingel is

pointed to as the chief trouble-maker, and the lack of sufficient *Scoti*[1] is asserted to be their only fault.

The *Chronicle* ignores the presence of Abbot Donatus in Nuremberg, his protest before a notary in the Church of *St. Aegidius*, his protest to the city councillors, and his protest forwarded to Martin V, but is careful to say that the Abbot Georgius Möringer entered into *pacific* possession of the monastery.[2] Can we agree that his occupation of the monastery was pacific?

Further Protests of Abbot Donatus[3]

According to the *Chronicle* Abbot Donatus on hearing of the election of Abbot Möringer protested to King Sigismund then at Ratisbon. The king on the advice of citizens of Nuremberg then also in Ratisbon rejected the appeal of the Abbot of the Scots. The king wrote friendly letters to the new Abbot of *St. Aegidius* and entrusted to him the absolution of the citizens of Augsburg.[4] It is implied that this commission was an approval of what had been done at *St. Aegidius*.

We know, however, that the king did not commission the Abbot of *St. Aegidius* to absolve the citizens of Augsburg. The commission was given not subsequently

[1] By reason of the abandonment of the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna in August 1418, seven monks who had been there withdrew to Ratisbon. This probably explains why Abbot Donatus said that he had come to Nuremberg *with Scoti*, and why he is able to tell the Burgraves that he has now sufficient *Scoti* at his disposal to constitute a convent. The chapter of the Benedictine abbots of the Mainz-Bamberg province at Petershausen, Feb. 27, 1417, had already taken cognisance of the scant number of monks in the *Schottenklöster*. The *Chronicle* quotes from the proceedings of this chapter correctly.

[2] Dominica proxima post festum S. Michaelis Archangeli dictus dominus Georgius electus et confirmatus in possessionem . . . . . dicti monasterii pacifice admissus et receptus fuit.

[3] *Cf.* Studies, Dec. 1932, p. 587.

[4] At Augsburg two bishops were contesting the see. In July 1418, Bishop Anselm of Nenningen, the candidate approved by the Pope, laid the city under interdict. King Sigismund on the other hand upheld Bishop Friedrich of Grafeneck, whom the Pope wished to transfer to Brandenburg. "Nenningen will not be Bishop," said Sigismund, "or I will not be King." The vigorous and rigid recognition of the interdict by Dukes Ernst and Wilhelm of Bavaria reduced Augsburg to a state of siege from which the citizens wished to be free. But neither Sigismund nor his candidate could free them. Bishop Anselm was unwilling to do so, and the clergy as a whole were faithful to him. (For a contemporary account of the schism see "Chronik des Burkhard Zink" in *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Bd. 5, pp. 78ff).

but previously to a possible appeal of Donatus to the king at Ratisbon. The commission cannot be looked on as a sign of the king's approval. The king could not impart jurisdiction to absolve from interdict. Only Bishop Anselm of Augsburg or the Pope could do that. As a matter of fact the Abbot of *St. Aegidius* was appointed to absolve the citizens of Augsburg from interdict on Oct. 7, 1418, at Pavia, not by King Sigismund but by Cardinal Branda de Castilione.[1]

When we remember the slowness of communication at the time, we cannot be sure that the death of Abbot Mauritius (Sep. 24) or the election of Abbot Georgius (Sep. 28) was known at Pavia when the "Abbot of the Scots of Nuremberg" was appointed (Oct. 7) to absolve the citizens of Augsburg. News of the issuance of the document at Pavia reached Augsburg only on Oct. 19, when riders hastening with all speed arrived in the city.[2] Hence the possibility that Cardinal de Castilione had in mind the Irish rather than the German abbot. And since Sigismund was most eager to hasten the reconciliation at Augsburg, we can understand his reluctance to question the legality of the disputed election at *St. Aegidius*.

It is also clear that the appointment of the Abbot of *St. Aegidius* was not subsequent to any appeal made to the king by Abbot Donatus at Ratisbon. Abbot Donatus could have appealed only after his return from Nuremberg, where he was on Oct. 4. The king did not reach Ratisbon until after Oct. 20. But the Abbot of *St. Aegidius* was already named at Pavia on Oct. 7.[3] The king merely transmitted to the Abbot of *St. Aegidius* the faculties forwarded from Pavia *via* Augsburg.

This transaction is inaccurately reported by the *Chronicle* and is warped to improve the case of the German monks and of the city council of Nuremberg. Sigismund

[1] Printed copy of document by which he was appointed in *Monumenta Boica*, Vol. 34, Part I, p. 256.

[2] *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Bd. 5, pp. 357, 358.

[3] For Sigismund's itinerary see *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Bd. 5, pp. 78-9.

did not appoint Abbot Georgius. The appointment did not take place subsequent to the appeal of Abbot Donatus. The appointment had no significance as an approval of the German abbot or as a condemnation of the Irish one.[1]

Charge of Alienation of Property

The wholesale alienation of property attributed to the *Scoti* must be considered as exaggerated. The *Chronicle* says, for example, that "the rents and income of the monastery were almost all alienated and dilapidated"; that "the abbot continued alienating the property and exposed for sale all that was left"; and that "the monks of Reichenbach, on their arrival, found most of the immovable property alienated." In view of this sweeping alienation of property it is hard to understand how the wardenship of the monastery and the administration of its property could be a matter of such contention between the Burgraves and the city authorities. The wardenship (*Vogtei*) was, among other grievances, twice a cause of war and twice an article of a treaty of peace.

It is very important to understand that it was the settled policy of the city of Nuremberg from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to increase its power by securing control of the property of all the ecclesiastical institutions within its sphere of influence. In this policy it was completely successful. The city council nominated, from its membership, administrators (*Pfleger*) to act for the religious in all temporal affairs. In cases where the religious offered opposition to this procedure, complaints of alleged abuses were made to the Bishop of Bamberg or to the General of the Order in question; a visitation was demanded; and the result in all cases was that, through the appointment of an administrator, the city

[1] There is evidence of the continuance of good relations between Sigismund and Abbot Donatus in the charter granted to *St. James*, Ratisbon, in 1422: Nos igitur praedictorum abbatis, prioris, et conventus monasterii Scotorum devotionis constantiam, vitae puritatem, fervorem et religionis honorem attenta mentis revolutione pensantes etc. Original in *Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Munich. *cf.* Renz, *Stud. u. Mitt.* 1896, p. 428.

council obtained control of all the ecclesiastical property and immunities in the city and its surroundings. Thus did the power of the Free City of Nuremberg grow. The zeal of the City Fathers for reform was not quite disinterested.[1]

A development took place which, in the reformation of the sixteenth century, ended in the *Summepiscopat des Rates*—the supreme pontifical power of the city council.

In properties and in immunities *St. Aegidius* was still at the beginning of the fifteenth century one of the most richly endowed institutions in Nürnberg. Hence its wardenship was a bone of contention between Burgrave Friedrich VI and the City in 1388. In the treaty of peace between both (Sep. 2, 1391) the wardenship of *St. Aegidius* was retained by the Burgrave. According to the *Chronicle*, the Bishop of Bamberg appointed, on the occasion of the alleged visitation of 1411 or 1412, discreet men as administrators. It must have been in such a manner that the city council obtained control over the monastery, for we find certain evidence of that control in the year 1415. Conrad Cingel, a member of the city council, was then administrator and his control was irksome to the abbot. Abbot Mauritius wished to transfer a small piece of property from one tenant to another. The transfer involved no loss to the monastery. He was opposed by the administrator. He took the case to the court of the Bishop of Bamberg and was sustained.[2]

St. Aegidius was *reichsunmittelbar*, immediately subject to the emperor in temporals. Hence the Irish abbots appealed to Sigismund at Constance in the summer of 1415. Sigismund issued the charter of July 11, 1415, placing *St. Aegidius* under the wardenship of Burgraves

[1] Emil Reicke, *Gesch. der Reichstadt Nürnberg*, Nürnberg, 1896; Siegfried Reicke, "Stadtgemeinde u. Stadtpfarrkirchen der Reichstadt Nürnberg im 14. Jahrhundert" in *Mitteil. des Ver. f. Gesch. der Stadt Nürnberg*, Bd. 26 (1926); *Die Entstehung des Territoriums der Reichstadt Nürnberg*, von H. Dannenbauer, Stuttgart, 1928; Johannes Kist, *Das Klarissenkloster in Nürnberg*, Nürnberg, 1929; G. Pickel, "Gesch. des Klaraklosters in Nürnberg" in *Beitrage z. bayerischen Kirchengesch.* Bd. XIX, Heft 4, ff; G. Pickel, "Gesch. des Barfüsserklosters in Nürnberg," ib. Bd. XVIII, Heft 6, ff; Christian Meyer, *Gesch. der Burggrafschaft Nürnberg* etc., Tübingen 1908.

[2] Johann Looshorn, *Gesch. des Bistums Bamberg*, vol I, 148.

Friedrich and Johann.[1] Extant also is the deed in which Abbot Mauritius and the Burgrave mutually acknowledged the wardenship. The Burgraves correctly claim it as their hereditary right. They state that the monastery has been afflicted by "unneighbourliness"; that the exercise of authority in it has passed into strangers' hands and has been wrested from the abbot and convent. They promise to protect it against the violent invasion of its rights. They will not oppress it in its property or people, but will respect its traditional rights and treat it as they do the other religious houses under their wardenship in the city of Nürnberg. They will also respect the rights of the abbot of *St. James*, Ratisbon, in the monastery (cf. *Monumenta Zollerana* VII, 419).

In these documents we see the Irish abbot struggling against the tightening grip of the city council. In one case he is upheld by the Bishop of Bamberg, in the other by the king and the burgraves. Abstracting from conditions in the monastery, the abbot had law and custom on his side. The city was the aggressor. But the abbot in resisting the aggressor was standing squarely in the path of the ambition of the Free City. In appealing to the burgraves for help he was appealing to its deadly rival. Hence the city authorities and Conrad Cingel are determined that the *Scoti* must go. Hence it is the city authorities who invite the monks from Reichenbach, who proved to be submissive instruments in the hands of the city council. *St. Aegidius*, thenceforth, ceased to be independent.[2]

This political complication makes more difficult the

[1] *Stadtarchiv*, Nürnberg Rep. 89, ad 71.

[2] The charter of Sigismund and the promise of the burgraves proved ineffective against the growing strength of the city. Yet it was only in 1426 that Sigismund, for political reasons, revoked his charter and placed the monastery under the wardenship of the city council. Conrad Cingel continued in the lucrative office of administrator till his death in 1447. But once more in 1449 the wardenship of *St. Aegidius* was a cause of war between Burgrave Friedrich Achilles and the city. In the peace that followed it was, according to the *Chronicle*, the most important article. All claim to it was surrendered by the burgrave. The monastery could not have been such an object of contention, if the abbots had squandered its property.

task of determining the historical value of the *Chronicle*. I am convinced that we have in it a document that is doubly partisan. It is the story of the reform told from the point of view of the city by a monk who was not a participant in the events and who did not even trouble to consult the documents in the archives.

In the closing paragraphs of the first part of the *Chronicle* its author returns once more to emphasise the absence of all equipment, buildings, furniture, utensils, etc. from the monastery at the time it was taken over by the monks of Reichenbach. In another passage he dwells upon the absence of books except for a few graduals and missals, a New Testament, Commentaries on the Rule, etc. The vestments were old and scanty. Over against these statements, however, we must set the sworn statement of Abbot Cormacus of Ratisbon before the Archbishop of Corfu at Basel (Aug. 9, 1434) at the trial already spoken of. He claimed that charters, books, vessels of gold and silver belonging to the *Scoti* were unjustly detained by Abbot Georgius and the Consuls and Proconsuls of Nuremberg.[1]

It has been impossible to control what the *Chronicle* has to say of the religious and moral character of the *Scoti*. I have gleaned every scrap of information relating to *St. Aegidius* from many sources. So far as our present knowledge goes, no document earlier than the *Chronicle*, i.e. before 1460, remotely suggests a decadence of religious life resembling that picture presented in it.

The Historical Value of the "Chronicle"

It has been shown that the *Chronicle* was composed more than forty years after *St. Aegidius* had ceased to be

[1] "Ut jura, privilegia, vasa aurea et argentea et res aliae a dicto monasterio S. Aegidii recepta restituant." And again: "Quodque praefatus Georgius monachus necnon consules et proconsules oppidi Nurenbergensis supradicti nonnullis libris, privilegiis, et juribus ad dictum Mauritium abbatem et conventum necnon nationem Scotorum praedictos spectantibus de facto spoliaverunt." From the record of the trial at Basel before the Archbishop of Corfu (Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Fasc. 4, 29a.).

the home of Irish monks. Its author was one of those German monks now in possession of what was still a wealthy monastery. It was composed after those German monks had been involved in three major lawsuits with the *Scoti* of Ratisbon regarding the monastery and its possessions. The feeling aroused by this litigation may be judged from the letter of Donatus which I have summarised. That feeling must have been kept alive by the re-opening of the case before the Council of Basel in 1434. And its continuance is guaranteed by the action instituted at Rome for the recovery of documents by the German monks in 1456. That the Chronicler of the monastery makes very inadequate reference to the first and passes over the other two in silence is not calculated to increase our confidence.

In so far as the *Chronicle* as a whole has unity, that unity is not derived from the arrangement by which the irregularity and extravagance of the later *Scoti* forms a foil to set off the thrift and constructiveness, the industry and piety of the reformed monks from Reichenbach. The author of the *Chronicle* permits himself to say nothing good of the later *Scoti*. I have pointed out the unsatisfactory character of the narratives of the alleged visitations and the inaccuracies and incongruities involved in them. I have shown the inaccuracy and unfairness of the passages that tell how the German monks were brought from Reichenbach. I have shown the incompleteness, the inaccuracies, and the misrepresentations involved in the story of the installation of the German monks on the death of the last Irish abbot. I have also shown other defects of accuracy and completeness.

The testimony of the *Chronicle* against the *Scoti* is therefore open to the gravest suspicion and can be invoked against them by the historian only at the risk of committing a serious historical injustice.

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SCHOOLS OF CATHOLIC ACTION

BY DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.
Editor of the *Queen's Work*

FEW phrases have ever given rise to more magnificent achievements, more vagueness of mind, and more windy speech-making than the beautiful phrase, Catholic Action.

With the magnificent achievements the whole world has become acquainted. Catholicity has more and more seeped down into every phase of human life and endeavour. Catholic laymen and women have responded to the papal call and challenge to co-operation with the hierarchy in stirring fashion.

The windy speech-making we have endured sometimes with amusement, sometimes with a sense of irritation. We in America for a time lost our taste for oratory. The war killed that along with a lot of other things. But in more recent times the taste has revived. We still have our banquets with stereotyped food followed by even more stereotyped humour and speeches. We who are Catholics have our Communion Breakfasts in parishes, societies, and schools, at which the grapefruit, bacon and eggs, toast and coffee, are concluded by priests and laymen (with a generous sprinkling of laywomen) who find the breakfast table a stimulating platform or pulpit.

And what a boon to these orators of the breakfast table was Catholic Action. They might not have the faintest idea what the words in combination meant, but they did know how to define Catholic, and they had some concept of what was implied by Action, and they put the two thoughts together and got consequences that would have shocked or amused the Holy Father. Many and many a time we have sat and heard speeches made

up of the most vapid platitudes and ended with the resounding climax: "And this, my friends, is what we mean by Catholic Action."

Whether the windy oratory was caused by the widespread vagueness of minds or the widespread vagueness of minds caused the windy oratory I should not care to decide. But certainly they went hand in glove, side by side, *pari passu*, whatever figure of speech you most prefer. And a large section of the Catholic People—clergy, religious, and laity alike—grew so weary of hearing themselves exhorted to a Catholic Action that, reduced to simplest terms, was compounded of fog and fancy, that there was real danger of the term falling into positive disrepute. I have heard fervid orators, lay and ecclesiastical, haranguing the multitude to Catholic Action and sending them forth without the slightest idea of what they were supposed to do or how or why they were supposed to do it. In fact, we began to distrust a really eloquent speech or paper or exhortation on Catholic Action. It was almost bound to be magnificent words without a practical thought that a man itching for achievement could take out and put into immediate and result-getting effect.

Hence it was that those of us who were interested in seeing Catholic Action translated from the realm of words into the realm of realities realized that it must become for everyone, leaders and led alike, as matter-of-fact as bread and butter, as practical as the driving of their motor car, as inevitable as love expressing itself in romantic and heroic deeds, as concrete as the things a mother does for the child she is raising to maturity.

If Catholic Action was to be more than a high-sounding phrase to the millions who never had read a papal encyclical or its explanation, it must be shown to be not something suddenly added to our Catholic practice, but something growing inevitably out of Catholic doctrine and practice because it was the thing that our times

immediately and sorely needed. These millions must be taught why Catholic Action was and is stressed in our days. They must be shown in simplest terms just why Catholic Action is the inspiring responsibility of carrying Jesus Christ, His name, His doctrines, His moral principles, to a world that does not after twenty centuries know Him; and why it can be called twenty-four-hour-a-day religion. The relation of Catholic Action to political life is important; not less important is its relation to amusement, recreation, entertainment; so that the millions must see that patronizing a certain type of theatre is Catholic Action, refusing their money at another type is almost equally Catholic Action; that a certain type of party is part of twenty-four-hour-a-day religion, while another type of party sets back the whole cause of Christ in a definite way.

They must be shown just how the hierarchy can share this priesthood with the people, and what the laity can then do to help the priests and bishops most effectively. Catholic Action cannot be allowed to remain something so large and nebulous and abstract that the most ordinary person is frightened by its possibilities. It must be broken up, so to speak, and placed within the reach of children and the partially educated quite as much as within the reponsibility of the professor, the lawyer, the leader in his profession or business, the woman of outstanding gifts and developed abilities.

And that, as I say, is the task to which we, who saw in Catholic Action the Pope's own explanation of the long discussed and often misunderstood development known as the Lay Apostolate, determined to dedicate ourselves. What we did for the Sodality, scores of others did most effectively for other organizations. And the National Catholic Welfare Council, under the immediate direction of the Hierarchy of America, has set an inspiring example of how Catholic Action can be turned into terms of practical life and organization.

With a sublime faith and a now, in retrospect, slightly silly optimism, we felt at first that all we needed to do was develop the Sodality into a laboratory for the religious instruction received in parish and school, and it would become immediately an effective unit of Catholic Action.

We even, as I suggested in a former article,[1] thought this could be done by mail.

Soon, very soon, we recovered from our young illusions. Catholic Action was nebulous. The relation of the theory of religion to life was surprisingly unknown. We talked with educators and with priests of wide experience and found them most willing and eager to carry out the Pope's command but by no means certain just what it meant for them. And the Sodalists themselves, even the trained college group and the better type of parish Sodalist who might be a teacher or a member of a learned profession, were often equally at sea.

The Sodality was stressing Catholic Action. Fine! But what and why and how was Catholic Action?

Our two-day week-end schools of leadership which we conducted throughout the country, we soon found, merely broke ground. In an intensive series of talks, lasting from four to ten hours, we had hardly done more than indicate the broadest general outline of the programme opened to the Catholic through Catholic Action. Our audiences went away interested, often inspired by the possibilities they saw, but usually still floundering a bit and darting off at tangents that took them from main issues and purposes and objectives.

Priest directors and religious moderators of Sodalities sincerely devoted to Catholic Action were themselves forced to confess that they did not see complete relationships between dogma and practice, between the Church's mission to the world and the layman's part in it, between the consecrated priesthood and the royal priesthood of all the people.

[1] *Sodalities in America and Catholic Action* (*Studies*, June 1933).

A large part of the time of the Sodality's Central Office was spent answering by mail the same questions: What do we do? How do we do it? How can we get the idea of Catholic Action clearly before our people? After we have organized our Central Committee or Students' Spiritual Council and appointed our Committees, will we find enough for them to do? About what type of subjects should our Sodalists talk? How can we make our meetings really interesting? What sort of apostolic work is suited to Sodalists of this or that type? Can you give us an intellectual programme that will be of genuine value and real interest to our lay people?

Slowly it dawned upon us that the week-end schools must be developed into real Schools of Catholic Action, places where priests and religious, directors, moderators, teachers, student counsellors, could be taught to put the theory of religion more concretely into the lives of those with whom they worked. We felt that the best of the Sodalists, men and women alike, might be interested in seeing Catholic Action taken apart and put together again for them in such a fashion that they could return to those who had elected them to office really prepared to lead and direct and guide and inspire.

For almost two years we played around with the idea. Then as two of our Central Office staff returned from one of our Sodality trips, we missed a train. It was one of those tiny incidents that act as a precipitate in our muddy mental compounds. The day was a rainy one in January, 1931. As we sat in the station waiting for a next train and then settled ourselves down for the roundabout trip necessitated by our missed train, we planned on the back of envelopes and any scratchpaper we could find a Summer School of Catholic Action.

By the time we had reached our destination, it was completely outlined in a form that has undergone no essential change from that day.

We carried our project first of all to Father Joseph

Husslein, S.J., head of the School of Sociology of St. Louis University and famous not only as a Catholic authority on economics and sociology but as the editor of the widely influential "Culture and Science" series of books.

We explained to him that we had drawn up the plans for a two weeks' intensive course in Catholic Action, both theory and practice. We hoped to fit it into the one spot in the summer when we could get the most essential group of people to attend. The summer for the American priest or sister is not one of gay and lightsome vacation. The vast majority of the sisters attend summer school for six weeks. Then they make their retreat. And by that time there is not much left of the holiday season, as it is sometimes laughingly called. The priest educator very frequently gives a retreat and perhaps two; makes his own retreat, and then, likely as not, teaches for six weeks in some summer school. And the American parish priest usually steals vacation whenever he can, which is possibly January, or immediately following Lent or midsummer or an approaching nervous breakdown.

The two last weeks of August seemed the most satisfactory and hopeful time. And two full weeks, twelve class days, with a minimum of five hours of class a day, would be the least we could consider.

Father Husslein accepted with his usual sympathetic and enthusiastic co-operation. Wheels moved rapidly. The course was accredited to the University's School of Sociology with credit given to qualified students. The subjects and the staff were approved, and we shot out with all possible speed our first publicity and letters.

A quick transition will now bring you, if you are still following me, to August 17th, 1931. We are standing in the beautiful quadrangle of Fontbonne College, one of the affiliated colleges of St. Louis University. Classes are being held there and at the equally attractive Webster College the second week, because these colleges are in

the city's suburbs and consequently cooler and more restful than the city-bound classrooms of the University proper.

Chartered buses, which carried the out-of-town students daily between their pleasantly arranged living quarters and the classroom buildings, are lumbering up the drives and emptying themselves of priests, sisters, brothers, men and women, mature and still very young. Autos are bringing their crowds. The street cars are pausing at the door with their loads. Registration, begun the preceding day, is rushing toward completion, as the 407 full time students are marshalled into the auditorium for the first School of Catholic Action in the United States. I hesitate to say, in the world. That is something I cannot guarantee.

The 250 priests, brothers, seminaries, and sisters, and the 157 laymen and laywomen represented, if statistics are interesting, 64 parishes, 5 seminaries, 11 hospitals, 37 colleges and universities, and 79 high schools from practically every section of the United States. We would, when we planned it, have been satisfied with 50 attending. During the two weeks the vast majority of these were taught, transported to and fro, housed, fed, and entertained by the Staff of the school.

The course had been planned to combine theory with practice. It was felt from the start that the students must see Catholic Action as a thing flowing inevitably from Catholic doctrine. And they must be convinced when they left that Catholic Action was something that was quite within their powers and possibilities.

The entire group, of course, went first to Mass. Usually this Mass was a Missa Recitata, on two occasions a Missa Versus Populum. During this half-hour Father William Puetter, S.J., who was in charge of the liturgy lectures, demonstrated in practice not only the potential beauty of the Mass but the various ways in which a congregation can take active part in the celebration of the

Mass. Several times during the week the same thing was done for Benediction and for various devotions of the Church.

Then the group was transferred to a central lecture hall where Catholic Action was explained under the general subject of "Christ in the Life of the Individual."

Such subjects were discussed as: Christ our Leader in Modern Problems; Christ the Organizer; The Blessed Sacrament and its relation to the Mystical Body; The Influence of Christ's Mother on Modern Morality; Christ's Zeal for Souls as the Inspiration for the Layman; Catholic Teachings are the Essential Message of Christ to the World; How Christ Trained His Apostles; Christ and His Attitude toward the Multitudes and the Individual.

Every effort was made to bring out the inspiration side of religion. Hard, solid doctrine was present; the personality of Christ was the pivot about which all else swung. But the matter was treated not only in correct and scholarly fashion but with deliberate emphasis on the beautiful, fascinating, inspirational aspects of the truths. We hoped that our students would go forth in a spiritual glow. We felt that Catholic Action must move forward on a reasoned conviction that had touched not merely the head but had reached and set on fire the heart.

The second hour found the students divided according to the type of organization from which they had come. There were groups from the parishes, priests and laymen and laywomen working together; there were groups of a strictly collegiate character; there was a third group made up of the younger high school students and their teachers and directors. Each group then discussed, under competent teachers, the Sodality as a Catholic Action organization with a definite programme of things to do for its members, the souls of others, and the Church, and with a clear cut way of putting this programme into operation.

The official programme then called for no class until 2.30. During the interval, lunch was served to all, and the students were encouraged to associate in the most friendly spirit. Indeed they needed little such encouragement. In no time at all, friendships were struck up, companionships formed, and the most delightful spirit of Catholic charity united the group into a splendid whole. Following lunch, we of the Staff advocated a period of relaxation, walking in the beautiful grounds of Fontbonne and Webster Colleges, talking in the cool recreation rooms or retiring to individual rooms for rest.

All this was the official programme. As a matter of fact, the students stubbornly refused to relax in the conventional fashion. The faculty members from the various colleges and schools met for an hour every noon to discuss problems of religious guidance. Questions of the religion classroom were thrashed out in the frankest open forums in which priest, brothers, sisters, and seminaries took part without diffidence or hesitancy. One of the most encouraging things about the whole school was the way in which the sisters often led these discussions of problems so essential for their apostolic lives.

Simultaneously, smaller groups were meeting under directors from the Central Office to continue the discussions of the morning, to hold forums on problems that interested them, or to discuss their plans for the coming year. The two hours we had hoped would be used for relaxation were for the entire twelve days used for the most alert discussions and intensive work.

The period from half-past two to half-past four was set aside for special subjects. During this period a lecture and a demonstration or laboratory was given in Liturgy, Catechetical Methods, Scouting, Catholic Play Production, Poster Making and Programme Planning, Study Clubs, Apostolic Projects. A student was allowed to concentrate on one subject. Or he might visit in turn the various classes to get a birds-eye view of the entire field.

The last hour of the day was a seminar or round table. During this period, the students did almost all the talking. Various questions were presented by the students and thrashed out themselves. Successes were explained and discussed with a view to helping others. Failures were admitted and analyzed. The day's programme was repeated with rapid quizzes and an opportunity for all to present any difficulty that might have arisen out of the lectures. Needless to say, there were few more interesting periods of the day, especially as the groups were always divided on the basis of common interests.

At half past five, buses once more lumbered up the drives; motors were slipped deftly out of their parking places; the street cars paused to re-load; and the entire student body was moved back to its places of residence.

Each night some entertainment was provided and made accessible for all the students. Time was permitted for study; but the emphasis was placed rather upon a correct Catholic social life that was not preached at the students of the School but was demonstrated to them in actual practice. Interestingly enough, though some of the students were quite young, not a single disciplinary problem arose during the entire two weeks of the School.

When the School came to an end, a number of impressions remained. The faculty knew that even with two weeks of intensive class, they had not begun to exhaust the field of Catholic Action. They had once again, even as after the two-day week-end Schools of Leadership, come to know that they had just scraped the surface. The magnificent possibilities of Catholic Action widened and spread before them even as they taught.

The students, priests, religious, laymen and laywomen, left with physical tears in their eyes. The secular priests who attended left behind a beautifully sincere letter, signed by all of them, urging other priests to take the course and asking the Central Office to see that this letter

reached as many priests as possible. One priest said: "Nothing like this has happened to me since my ordination retreat." Another said it was the most thrilling spiritual experience of his life.

The response of the teachers, sisters and brothers was almost touching. They stated again and again that it had suddenly made their teaching of religion purposeful and inspiring. Widely they claimed that to themselves it had been more valuable than any retreat of their lives. Again and again they stated that they were going back to their classrooms filled with a zeal for their students that they had never known before and a conviction that they now knew how to turn their boys and girls into real leaders.

Interestingly enough, many upon their return taught the course to others, some in novitiates and mother-houses, some to younger religious, and some to the small community to which for the year they were assigned. This fact made one Mother-General say: "I consider the tuition spent on this Summer School of Catholic Action the best spent money of my term in office."

As for the laymen and women, the maturer group and the younger group as well, quite aside from their universal expressions of enthusiasm, what they thought of the course is proved by simple facts. Not a student voluntarily missed a single class. Opportunities for games and parties and trips through the city was pushed aside if they interfered even with the optional meetings during the noon hours. Some students dropped in at the beginning just out of curiosity and after the first classes enrolled for the full time. And from these laymen and laywomen on their return to their Sodalities came the most important and widespread effects.

For the effects of the Summer School were quite beyond counting. At last, leaders felt, they knew how to lead. Those who had been fortunate enough to attend went out and taught those leaders who had not been able

to be present. Some of them were responsible for the establishment of Sodality Unions in their district. Others put their Sodalities on sound Catholic Action basis, though before they had met every possible discouragement. The group who attended the School became in pre-eminent fashion the Sodality leaders throughout the country.

The summer of 1932 witnessed two Conventions of Student Sodalists. Well over 2,000 were present at the College and High School Conventions in Chicago, and so no attempt was made to interest this group in the Summer School of Catholic Action. As a result slightly under 400 attended the second School.

Exactly the same plan was followed, though an entirely new programme was presented for those who had attended the first Summer School. The group attending for the first time was taken over fundamentals.

The main talk of the morning around which the course centered was based on the general subject: The Fundamental Doctrines of the Catholic Faith as the Basis of Catholic Action. In many ways this proved more interesting than the main series of the first year, for it brought into sharper relief just why anyone who believes what the Church teaches with heart and soul must of necessity accept the Pope's programme of Catholic Action.

The rest of the day differed only in content from the programme of the preceding year. The response was in many ways quicker and deeper. The same magnificent spirit permeated the students. The same reactions and effects followed the School throughout the year.

I am writing this brief account almost in the midst of the School's third season, which is by way of being an experiment. The United States, as my readers are probably aware, is a tremendously large country. Some students came two thousand miles to attend. Railroad fares are a decided consideration when one must bring together a national group. Because of this, and at the

pressing invitation from various sections of the country, we have this year offered three Summer Schools of Catholic Action in three remotely distinct sections of the country. Through this method we hoped to reach a larger group of leaders and make accessible to those who financially cannot afford to travel to St. Louis the spirit, the work and the projects.

In order to make this possible, however, it was necessary to cut each School to one week's duration.

The first School has taken place in New Orleans in co-operation with Loyola University of the South. Almost 250 priests, religious, laymen and laywomen from the Southland attended the sessions with the same fine response. During the third week of August, the School will be carried to Milwaukee, where it will be offered under the patronage of His Excellency Archbishop Stritch. Then it will be moved to New York, where Fordham University is sponsoring its classes. It is hoped that close to a thousand students will avail themselves of the Schools in Milwaukee and New York. In each case the School is staffed from the Central Office of the Sodality and from the regional secretaries and the splendid corps of associates who are now doing specialized Catholic Action work.

Whatever other Sodality project may voluntarily be dropped, we feel that there is no likelihood of discontinuing this School of Catholic Action. Plans are already laid to bring it back to St. Louis for two weeks during the summer of 1934. In addition, we are planning to conduct a similar series of classes in conjunction with St. Louis University School of Sociology all through the coming winter. Two hours a week will be given over to the training of leaders in evening classes that will be especially accessible to priests, students, and parish workers busy during the day.

We have endeavoured to make the spirit of the Summer School almost that of a retreat. We have

sometimes thought of it as the Second Week of the Exercises of St. Ignatius, that magnificent series of meditations on the life of the Saviour, translated into terms of personal spirituality and active Catholicity. The spiritual note has been stressed above all else. For we are convinced that the technique of Catholic Action is relatively simple. I have said in the past and I still say, with deliberate exaggeration, that any intelligent person can learn the theory of Catholic Action organization, certainly of Sodality organization, in twenty minutes. What he cannot learn in twenty minutes is how to apply that theory to modern problems and to modern personalities.

To do that successfully, the Catholic leader, priest or lay, must first of all be convinced that the Holy Father is right when he calls so pleadingly for Catholic Action. He must realize that nothing could possibly be more definite or clearcut or practical than Catholic Action properly applied to life. He must have himself a deep love of Christ, an enthusiasm for his faith, a zeal for souls, a patience and charity and human understanding that make him an acceptable and trustworthy leader. He must be able to inspire like virtues in others. He must not only know what to give others to do, but how they can be made to want to do it. And the what and the how are both founded on that basis of all Catholic Action, loving and eager imitation of Christ, Man-God, Saviour of the World, Leader in this as in all causes worth espousing.

And toward all this, the Sodality's Summer School of Catholic Action has dedicated and hopes to continue to dedicate its unswerving loyalty and devotion.

Daniel A. Lord

St. Louis University
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EDMUND BAILEY O'CALLAGHAN

Physician, Historian, Antiquarian

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

MANY who are interested in the history of New York State and its metropolis, and especially the obscure questions connected with the early colonial history of the State, are likely to be surprised to find that the man who has collected and collated most of the original documents with regard to these primitive times was an Irishman, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan.[1]

Dr. O'Callaghan was born in Mallow, County Cork, in 1797, of a family of some distinction. Two of his brothers, Eugene and David, became priests and were noted for their scholarship. His eldest brother, strange as it might seem, held a commission in the English army. In 1820 O'Callaghan went to France to study medicine. Owing to the test oaths in vogue before Catholic Emancipation, it would have been quite impossible for O'Callaghan to enter an English or Irish university without forswearing his faith. Like so many other young Irishmen of his time whose families could afford to send their children abroad he went over to the Continent for his education and probably benefited by the compulsion placed on him. He seems to have spent some ten years in France. In 1830 he emigrated to Canada and took up the practice of medicine in Montreal, where he achieved excellent success. It was not long, however, before his Irish blood and his feelings with regard to the English government tempted him to take an active part in the National Patriotic Movement, which was making itself felt in the Canada of that day and ultimately achieved success in its efforts to

[1] The name is sometimes written Edmund Burke O'Callaghan; but there is no doubt that Bailey is the true middle name. It is a family name.

make Canada a better place to live in not only for the descendants of the English but also for those of other nationalities. In 1834 O'Callaghan succeeded Dr. Tracey as Editor of *The Vindicator*, the organ of the National Patriotic Movement. So bitter was the feeling between the political parties that Dr. Tracey had only barely escaped with his life on several occasions. He was saved from political assassination, however, only to become the victim of an epidemic of cholera in which he displayed the greatest courage in the care of his patients, risking his life without a thought of consequences and finally succumbing to the dread disease.

Party spirit continued to run high, and Dr. O'Callaghan knew that he was risking his life, as Dr. Tracey had done ; but that did not prevent him from taking up the work and continuing it for some three years, until finally the people became aroused to such an extent that an insurrection seemed inevitable. Dr. O'Callaghan in company with Papineau, the leader of the movement, attended the meeting of the Canadian Revolutionary Party held at St. Denis, a suburb of Montreal, and both of them spoke very forcibly against any recourse to arms. O'Callaghan insisted on the fact that the Canadians were not ready for any such extreme measure and that the revolution would surely be put down and the cause injured rather than benefited by any such hasty action. The sad story of the Irish rebellion of 1798 would be repeated in Canada.

The " moderates," who counselled a waiting policy and insisted on passive resistance until the population had been better organized and armed, were overruled and it became clear that recourse to arms was inevitable. When the crisis came, Dr. O'Callaghan took the field with the others and was in the action at St. Denis on November 23, 1837, when his friend and fellow member of Parliament, the associate editor of *The Vindicator*, Hon. M. Ovide Perraut, was shot dead by his side. Less than a

week later a reward was posted for the apprehension of O'Callaghan as a traitor.

Between the abortive revolution and the reward for his apprehension as a traitor, with the British government on his trail, O'Callaghan must have felt very much as if he were on his native heath in Cork. O'Callaghan and Papineau were especially singled out by the English government, and with the failure of the insurrection there was nothing for them to do but make their escape into New York State. They had to wander through half frozen swamps by night, and it was only after prolonged suffering and severe hardships that they reached Albergh on Missisquoi Bay, whence they were able to secure passage across into Vermont.

While the revolution was a failure so far as the military engagements were concerned, it had a decided effect in lessening many abuses in the Canadian government, and it brought about a distinct amelioration of political conditions in Canada. Lord Durham was sent out by the British government to Canada as Governor General and High Commissioner to inquire into and adjust the political difficulties which had been causing so much friction. After the crushing of the rebellion Lord Durham sentenced Papineau, O'Callaghan, Cartier, Robert Nelson and certain others who were beyond his jurisdiction to exile, threatening them with death if they returned to Canada.

Mr. William Kingsford in his *History of Canada* (vol. X, Toronto, 1898) expresses the opinion that O'Callaghan did not recall with any satisfaction that part of his career in which he was concerned with the Canadian insurrection. Toward the end of his life O'Callaghan preferred not to speak of it nor to have it mentioned. This state of mind, however, must have been exhibited only in Canada, where O'Callaghan went subsequently to consult documents for his *Documentary History of New York*. During this work of research, needless to say, it was much better to let bygones be bygones and not recall insur-

rectionary incidents that might be embarrassing for Canadian officials. But New York friends who knew him well are not of the impression that he felt ashamed of any part that he took in the movement. They recall on the contrary that he seemed to rejoice over the fact that he once helped to make history and not merely write about it. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, who wrote his obituary, speaks of the incidents of the Revolution as if he had obtained them from O'Callaghan himself, though he says that O'Callaghan seldom mentioned it. The appeal to arms may have been ill-advised, as was pointed out by both Papineau and O'Callaghan; but there is no doubt that the subsequent reforms which have made Canada one of the freest lands in the world would not have been passed so soon, had it not been for the fact that the colonists showed that they were ready to shed their blood to secure them.

For nearly a year O'Callaghan was the guest of Chancellor Walworth in Saratoga, one of the very prominent members of the legal profession who appreciated very thoroughly that O'Callaghan had been engaged in a revolution corresponding to the one that those on his side of the Canadian line had made successfully some sixty years before. He knew too that if our Revolution had failed, there would have been death or exile in wait for all those who took part in it, though because of its success they were now looked up to as the Fathers of their country. With the encouragement of Chancellor Walworth, Dr. O'Callaghan resumed his practice of the medical profession in Albany, where he soon achieved success and won the respect of his colleagues. He became a member of the Albany Medical Society and after some time was elected its secretary.

It was not long, however, before O'Callaghan's Irish character once more compelled him to take an interest in a question of oppression. There was an anti-rent agitation on in Albany which led him to study the land

rights of the patroons, that is the original Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam, afterwards New York, to whom had been granted large tracts of land along the Hudson River on certain definite conditions as regards the bringing out of colonists and the raising of crops.

O'Callaghan very soon found that there were abundant documents with regard to the conditions; but they were contained in the old Dutch records which belonged to the State. For years no one had looked into them; so O'Callaghan took up the study of the Dutch language in order to make these documents available for general consultation. In the course of ten years he gathered the material for the first volume of his *History of New Netherland*, which is the first well documented history of New York State. Once having begun this excursion into history, O'Callaghan kept it up and gradually withdrew from the practice of medicine. His reference to the documents made it clear that there were many State papers in Holland which would throw light on the history of New York, and a commissioner was sent over by the New York State Legislature to search the archives not only at the Hague but also in London and Paris and to make copies of the documents bearing on New York colonial history.

O'Callaghan was looked upon as the one man who could best collate these documents; so he spent some six years in annotating them and publishing them in eleven quarto volumes under the title *Documentary History of New York.* They are a standing demonstration of his care and faithfulness as an historian. O'Callaghan had been made the keeper of the historical manuscripts of New York State in 1848, and he served in this capacity for some twenty-two years.

The care with which O'Callaghan's work was done is very well illustrated by what has been said of the index volume to O'Callaghan's eleven volumes of *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.*

Mr. Eames, who knows Americana better than anyone else, says that this is the very best historical index of any American work ever made. It is a quarto volume by itself and is a ready guide to an immense amount of precious information. O'Callaghan took for his motto the expression of Oldys, the English antiquarian and bibliographer, author of the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* and editor of *Raleigh's History of the World*, who in the seventeenth century was looked upon as one of the scholarly bibliographers of the day and was consulted in all matters of recondite erudition. Oldys said: "The labour and the patience, the judgment and the penetration, which are required to make a good index are only known to those who have gone through this most painful but least praised part of a publication. But laborious as it is, I think it is indispensably necessary to manifest the treasures of any multifarious collection, facilitate the knowledge to those who seek it, and invite them to make application thereof." When I read this quotation to Mr. Eames from O'Callaghan's title page he said: "Well, that is what Dr. O'Callaghan himself accomplished very thoroughly. He was completely justified in taking the quotation from Oldys for his motto."

After the publication of his *Documentary History of New York*, Dr. O'Callaghan was invited to take full charge of the editing and arranging of the historical documents relating to the early times of New York City. He spent a number of years at this task and succeeded in arranging in manuscript form all that was of special importance. A snag was encountered, however, in connection with the appropriation for the work. These were the days when the Tweed ring ruled the city, and while there was money for a great many other things it was not available for the printing of historical records nor for payment to a historian, though he had been formally invited down from Albany to devote himself exclusively to this work. In writing about O'Callaghan some twenty-

five years ago in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, I said that some students of the history of early New York are quite convinced that O'Callaghan's work never went beyond the manuscript arrangement for the printer. I ventured to suggest, however, that the book had been set up in type and that perhaps some sheets of it existed in some storeroon. I felt that it was unfortunate that it had never been published, for it would have put a capstone on O'Callaghan's historical monument.

Time has vindicated my suggestion of twenty-five years ago, though not quite in the way that I had anticipated. The many volumes of the *Proceedings of the Common Council of the City of New York* edited by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, which took so much of his time and labour in his later years, were set up in type and the bill for the printing of them was rendered, but no copy of them could be found. The Librarian of the New York Historical Society had searches made in various places, including the vaults of the New York Printing Company, but without avail. Finally he found a trunk in the New York Historical Society building which contained a number of notes and copies of historical documents of various kinds made by and for Dr. O'Callaghan; but the trunk also contained, partly in sheets and partly in sewed volumes, a set of the printed *Proceedings of the Common Council* as they had been edited by O'Callaghan. They were evidently the Doctor's own proofs and are apparently now the only existing copies of the work that was done some fifty years ago. The *Proceedings of the Common Council* were printed nearly thirty years later at the end of the century; but the Librarian of the New York Historical Society commends the earlier edition (that of Dr. O'Callaghan) as a better piece of printing and editing.

O'Callaghan in the course of his historical researches was brought closely in touch with James Lenox, New York millionaire, who was deeply interested in Americana,

that is in publications of various kinds that had been made in and about America. Mr. Lenox became the founder of the Lenox Library, since absorbed with the Astor and Tilden foundations into the New York Public Library. In that library he made a magnificent collection of bibles of all kinds and countries, and in connection with this there developed one of the best known of O'Callaghan's contributions to general American history, his *List of the Editions of the Holy Scripture and Parts Thereof Printed in America Previous to* 1860. O'Callaghan's List is inscribed to Mr. Lenox, and many of the editions described—especially the rarer and more valuable volumes —are acknowledged as having been seen in Mr. Lenox's library, though other collections were not neglected. Dr. O'Callaghan's introduction to this List has been much admired by historical students, because it shows strikingly what an amount of information with regard to colonial editions of all kinds O'Callaghan had collected and digested. Besides being a mine of exact information, however, this introduction is very interesting reading because it gives an excellent idea of the difficulties under which the early printers and publishers laboured.

O'Callaghan called the attention of Mr. James Lenox to the bibliographic value of the *Jesuit Relations* because of their rarity and also because they represented original documents as to the early history of this country and especially of New York and Canada. This communication was probably the incentive which set New York's indefatigable collector of Americana to the making of as complete a collection as possible of the *Relations*. As a consequence the Lenox Library department of the New York Public Library contains the most complete set of them in the world—indeed the only complete set in existence in their original form. It was this set that was used as the basis for the edition of the *Jesuit Relations* in some seventy volumes published at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Burrows brothers of Cleve-

land under the bibliographical editorship of Mr. Paltsits, who was the assistant librarian of the Lenox Library.

O'Callaghan was the first to point out the value for history of the *Jesuit Relations*, that is the so called "Edifying Letters" (*Lettres Edifiantes*) which were sent home by missionaries to their Superiors in Europe and which, besides details of missionary life and work, contained observations on natural history, anthropology, ethnology and the customs and habits of the Indians, so that they are an important contribution to science and history. O'Callaghan succeeded in securing a nearly complete set of the volumes and read before the New York Historical Society a review of them, in which he dwelt at considerable length on the contents of each of the volumes and on their value to the historian. His paper was subsequently published in pamphlet form and attracted wide attention. Historians all over the world who were occupied with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wished to consult the *Jesuit Relations*. The volumes, however, were very scarce. No complete set was known to be in existence even in Europe, while here in this country the Jesuits themselves, owing to the débacle after their suppression in 1773 and the scattering of their libraries, possessed very few of the volumes. They were to be found only here and there in private libraries.

It is easy to understand that, in the course of his historical researches and his association with other bibliophiles, Dr. O'Callaghan had collected, besides a magnificent working library, many precious books of the early days of printing here in America and some rare foreign works. American collectors were not at that time engaged so sedulously in picking up Americana, and American millionaires were not as yet awakened to the possibility of securing a comparatively cheap immortality as the owners of rare books or as the founders of libraries to house their collections and perpetuate their names. O'Callaghan had to pay pretty good prices for

some of his rare treasures, and this, with the failure of New York City politicians to pay for his services as municipal historiographer, had exhausted his financial resources. Consequently, after his death his widow was forced to disperse his collection at auction.

The library was sold at the beginning of December 1882. It commanded good prices, and many of the treasures of the collection passed into hands from which they are not likely to be transferred again. The United States Congressional Library had a representative at the sale who secured many early works of great value, the New York Historical Society and Mr. Eames of the Lenox Library were bidders, a number of private collectors were represented and the Parliamentary Library in Canada sent an agent to buy books relating to Canada and thus secured some of the most precious treasures of the collection—almost unique copies of early editions of the *Jesuit Relations*. Their agent also bought many other books to replace copies of early historical works lost through the fire of 1854. The prices obtained for many of the books are often quoted as standards of value.

The far-reaching effect of the example set by O'Callaghan in the collection of books about American history may be judged from the story of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, the bibliographic expert of the New York Public Library. When O'Callaghan's library was sold, Mr. Eames was only a bookseller's clerk who had been gathering books on a general plan, but who realized, after looking over the O'Callaghan catalogue, that it would be much better for him to collect Americana, or books of special significance because of their interest rather than books in general. He sold many books that he owned in order to get money enough to bid on certain items of the O'Callaghan sale. He bid on the Eliot Bible, which was printed in New England and in the Indian language towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. It was not a first edition; but he had to pay

$140 for it, and he had to pay at the rate of $26 a volume for each of the four volumes of the Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library. This library contains the best collection of Americana in this country, and this particular catalogue in O'Callaghan's library had been sent to him by John Carter Brown with the special inscription to him because of his well-known interest in this subject. It had, therefore, a special bibliographic value for which Mr. Eames had to pay.

These purchases represented the beginning of Mr. Eames's special interest in American bibliography. He has now come to be looked upon as one of the world's experts in this line and has received a number of distinctions for his helpfulness to others in this field. Not long since the New York Historical Society presented him with its gold medal for the excellent work that he has done in the department of early American works and in bibliography in general. The English Bibliographical Society conferred on him their gold medal for the work that he has done in their department. On his seventieth birthday the men interested in bibliography from all over the United States presented him with what the Germans call a *Festschrift*—that is a memorial volume made up of contributions from various specialists.

In spite of the hard work to which O'Callaghan subjected himself during his life, always intent on occupying every moment of time usefully, he lived to a good old age. At the age of eighty he was still not only in full possession of his faculties, capable of doing excellent historical work, but he was also reasonably active on his feet. Unfortunately in his eightieth year he was hurt by a street car in New York City and never recovered from the injuries. For three years after this he was confined to his house, but still continued to be interested in his favourite subject and went on with his historical investigations. He died May 28, 1880, just eighty-three years and three months old. He lived in the cathedral parish of St. Patrick

and was buried from the Cathedral. He had been for many years a member of the Xavier Alumni Sodality of New York, the parent of the present Catholic Club. His funeral was attended by many prominent Catholics and the funeral sermon was preached by his old friend from Albany, the distinguished Father Walworth.

For nearly fifty years O'Callaghan devoted himself almost exclusively to historical research. His contributions to American history were many and fundamental. I made a list of them in the article on O'Callaghan for the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society (vol. 16, no. 1). The principal items are :—

History of New Netherlands or New York under the Dutch (2 vols. New York, 1846-49); *Jesuit Relations* (a descriptive essay, New York, 1847); *Documentary History of the State of New York* (4 vols., Albany, 1849-51); *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (11 vols., Albany, 1855-61); *Journals of the Legislative Council of New York*, Albany, 1860); *Origin of the Legislative Assemblies of the State of New York* (Albany, 1861); *A List of the Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof printed in America previous to* 1860 (Albany, 1861); *Calendar of Dutch, English and Revolutionary Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State* (4 vols., Albany, 1865-68); *Proceedings of the Common Council of New Amsterdam and New York* (8 vols., New York, 1870, printed but not published).

There are more than a score of other separate publications, and then a series of articles are mentioned in the New York State Literary Bulletin under the title *Bibliography of New York Colonial History*. Besides these there are many short articles in the *Magazine of American History* and the *American Historical Magazine*. Most of these articles deal with obscure problems in early colonial history. It is on the hard nuts of early colonial history that O'Callaghan's contributions are most valuable and are treasured as sources of information by historical writers.

James J. Walsh

CLEMENT XIV AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS[1]

BY JOHN MACERLEAN, S.J.

PASTOR'S monumental work on the history of the Popes is rapidly drawing to a close. As originally planned the last part should have embraced the reigns of Clement XIV (1769-1774) and Pius VI (1774-1799), but the mass of material which the author had collected to illustrate the reign of Clement XIV was so enormous that the editors, unwilling to omit or abbreviate valuable references or documents, decided to assign a separate part to each of these pontificates, and every serious student of history will rejoice at their decision. The narrative is marked by the same accurate synthesis of records and the same convincing impartiality that distinguished the previous volumes of the series. It was practically ready for printing when the author died; but though he did not live to give it the finishing touch as it passed through the press, it contains undoubtedly the author's definitive judgment on an intricate and critical period of ecclesiastical history.

The main theme of this volume is necessarily the suppression of the Society of Jesus, an issue that dominated all others during the reign of Clement XIV. In the eighteenth century three sects were distinguished by their hostility to the Church: the Jansenists, whose doctrines combated by the theologians of the Society had been condemned as heretical by the Church; the Freemasons, a secret organization founded in London on the basis of naturalism and religious indifference, which despite Papal condemnations had spread to the Continent and numbered

[1] *Geschichte der Päpste. Klemens XIV, 1769–1774.* Von Ludwig Freiherrn von Pastor. (Herder. 1932. Pp. X + 440. M. 13).

many prominent statesmen in its ranks; and the Encyclopedists or self-styled philosophers of the Voltairean school, who were opposed to all religion and openly atheistic. Revolving round these sects and in partial sympathy with certain aspects of their programmes were Regalists and Gallicans, who endeavoured to cripple the Church by exaggerating the power of the civil state or by minimising the primatial jurisdiction of the Holy See.

About the year 1747 these hostile forces began to organize themselves in a determined effort to annihilate the Society of Jesus, preliminary to delivering a massed attack on the Church. It is to this conspiracy our present Holy Father refers when he speaks of "A conspiracy against God and against the Church and in consequence, glorious consequence, a conspiracy against the Society of Jesus (*Congiura contro Iddio e contro la Chiesa e quindì per conseguenza, gloriosa conseguenza, congiura contro la Compagnia di Gesù*), a conspiracy born of hatred and prejudice, which burst into a fierce and unparalleled persecution and ended by subverting all order and all ecclesiastical authority." For eleven long years Clement XIII had made every effort to defend the Society against its enemies. The ministers of the Bourbon Courts stopped at no act of tyranny to attain their end. A violent compaign of calumny against the Society of Jesus was inaugurated and pursued relentlessly. One after the other the Bourbon princes of Portugal, France, Spain, Naples and Parma expelled, without trial or proof of crime, the Society from their dominions, or threw thousands of its members into loathsome dungeons, or cast them ashore on the coasts of Italy. Clement XIII protested in vain against these unjust proceedings. He had to look on helplessly while the Catholic missions of Asia and America were ruined by the expulsion of thousands of zealous missionaries. He could do nothing when hostile armies invaded his own territories and occupied Beneventum, Avignon and le Comtat Venaissin by force. Threats of

complete rupture accompanied and followed these acts of violence. In memorials presented on the 16, 20 and 24 January, 1769 the Bourbons insisted upon the total extinction of the Society throughout the world. But Clement XIII was ready to brave even threats of schism rather than sacrifice those whom he believed to be devoted servants of the Church. The persistent intimidation, however, told on the health of the aged Pope and he died on 2 February, 1769—of a broken heart, as Cardinal Negroni assures us.

The Conclave for the election of a successor began on 15 February and lasted till 19 May, 1769. Twenty-eight cardinals were present at the first meeting, and the number increased gradually to about fifty. They were divided into two camps: the Zelanti, favourers of the Society of Jesus, who wished for a pope possessed of the same spirit as Clement XIII, and the Bourbon cardinals or Court party, who wished to restore peace to the Church by compliance with the wishes of the Bourbon Courts. According to canon law the proceedings in conclave are secret, but we know almost everything that happened in this conclave, for the Bourbon Cardinals, especially Orsini and Bernis, in defiance of the oath of secrecy, communicated every detail to the representatives of the Bourbon Court . As the Zelanti observed the secret, we are dependent almost entirely on the one-sided reports of Bernis and his associates, to the great disadvantage of history. Early in the proceedings it seemed as if a candidate favourable to the Society of Jesus would be elected, but the representatives of Spain and France announced that their Courts would not recognise an election held in the absence of the foreign cardinals, and that if such an election took place their ambassadors would leave Rome. They carried their point, but there were difficulties in the way of electing a pro-Bourbon pope. A contemporary pamphlet says the Cardinals were all open or secret friends of the Society; Roda, ex-

ambassador of Spain, says there was hardly one of the cardinals that was not devoted to the Society or dependent on it; Bernis, the French Cardinal, who entered the conclave on 25 March, reported that three quarters of the cardinals present were pro-Jesuit; Azpuru's list of 19 April excluded twenty-six cardinals for the same reason; Bernis on 22 April protested that it would be a hitherto unheard of proceeding to veto half the conclave and leave only four or five *papabili*, some of whom were too young; nevertheless Aubeterre on 25 April held it would be necessary to exclude twenty-five of the forty-five cardinals present.

Before the conclave began and during the early part of it, the Bourbon ambassadors insisted on the necessity of exacting a written or at least a verbal promise to suppress the Society from the candidate they would support. Orsini and the French cardinals, Bernis and Luynes, declared such a promise would be simoniacal. Spain and Portugal, however, held out for an unconditional promise. The French cardinals replied that the whole business of the conclave was to elect a pope, that the cardinals had no right to deal with such questions as the suppression of the Society, and that the giving of a formal promise in order to obtain the tiara would undoubtedly be simony. "We can not join in electing a simoniacal pope," declared Bernis on 20 April, adding that "to demand a promise to suppress the Society of Jesus would violate canon law and dishonour the Bourbon princes, that the cardinals would in all probability refuse to give the promise, and that the candidate willing to give it would be quite capable of breaking it after the election. There is nothing for it therefore but to elect an enlightened pope who recognised the necessity of complying with the wishes of the Courts. When that was done, they could afterwards apply force to him."

When the Spanish cardinals, de Solis and La Cerda, entered the conclave (27-30 April) they expressed their

surprise at the refusal to exact a promise of the suppression. De Solis declared he could not conscientiously give his vote to a candidate who did not give this pledge to the Spanish king. On 3 May Bernis and Luynes rejected de Solis's proposal. Luynes maintained as before that such a promise would be simony, for it was a promise to give something spiritual for something temporal, and that rather than be a party to that he would leave the conclave. Such a promise, he argued, would do more harm than good. What would happen, he asked, if the future pope refused to perform what he had promised as cardinal. You might publish his promise and discredit him, but you would expose and dishonour the Catholic sovereigns before the whole world. The only thing the courts could do was to influence the choice of a pope from whom the suppression could be hoped. Once he was elected, they had the power to make him suppress the Society even if it were innocent.

In the evening of 12 May the conclavist Aguirre had a long interview with Ganganelli, " who spoke pretty freely against the Society, so that there is hope of its extinction, if this lord gains the tiara." De Solis speaking of these private transactions with Ganganelli during the conclave says that he concluded from them that Ganganelli would carry out any demands of the courts. Bernis did not quite trust Ganganelli, but as his agent too had a satisfactory interview with Ganganelli and instructions to support his candidature were received from Paris, he took up his candidature zealously on 18 May. On the other hand Ganganelli had during the conclave succeeded in giving the zelanti cardinals the impression that he was neutral or at any rate that the Society had nothing to fear from him. Thus after three months delay an agreement was reached between all parties, and on 19 May Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli was elected unanimously—*minus* his own vote, which he gave to Cardinal Rezzonico. After giving four instances of expression of sentiments

favourable to the Society on the part of Ganganelli during the conclave, Pastor goes on to say : " It would be going too far to accuse Ganganelli of deliberate deceit, as a modern historian does, on account of his double-dealing policy. It is nearer the truth to say that he was a man of weak character who ambitioned the tiara. Not having a decided opinion himself, he re-echoed the views of the person he was talking to, according as he was a friend or a foe of the Society. In the conclave of 1769 we have the key to the policy and sufferings of Clement XIV."

Did Ganganelli promise before his election that he would dissolve the Society ? Many modern historians leave the question open ; but the majority, with whom Pastor agrees, deny any formal promise. It is undeniable that there was a contemporary suspicion prevalent to that effect, as also that Clement XIV lived under constant fear that he would be accused of having been elected on the condition that he would suppress the Society (*cf.* reports of 1769, 26 July, 23 Nov. ; 1772, 17 Jan., 15 Nov. ; 1773, 7 Jan.). The contemporary suspicion does not prove much ; for, before the opening of the archives, contemporaries could not well distinguish between promises given immediately before and soon after the election. Two documents, however, do lend some colour to the accusation. Tanucci, the Neapolitan minister, who was in correspondence with Cardinal Orsini during the conclave, says in a letter of 31 Oct., 1769 that the Pope promised, both during the conclave and in the first days of his pontificate, to extinguish the Society (*il Papa promette l'estinzione nel conclave e nei primi giorni del suo pontificato*). Pastor rejects this statement on the grounds that it comes from one who was far from the scene and is at variance with the statements of those who were present and who had no knowledge of any simoniacal promise. The second document is a note of Ganganelli's published by Crétineau-Joly : " *il reconnait au Souverain Pontife le droit de pouvoir éteindre en conscience la Compagnie de*

Jésus, en observant les règles canoniques, et qu'il est â souhaiter que le futur pape fasse tous ces efforts pour accomplir le vœu des Couronnes." This note, seemingly, contains all those expressions which removed de Solis's doubts and convinced him that Ganganelli, if elected, would take in hands the work of suppressing the Society; but whatever else we may think about it, it is not a formal promise.

Bernis's reports confirm this interpretation. Describing an interview he had with the new Pope he says (26 July, 1769): "With regard to the suppression of the Society the Pope expressed himself in the same way as he had done to me before his election, and added confidentially that he had been asked at that time to give his opinion of the suppression in writing but that he had contented himself with answering that he was of opinion that, if the canonical precepts were observed, the suppression was possible and even useful." Two days later Bernis says: "The document the Pope signed is in no way binding." And again on 20 November, 1769 Bernis, when complaining of attacks made on himself by the Spaniards, says: "The Spaniards got nothing from Ganganelli but a writing that binds him to nothing. In it Ganganelli as theologian gives his opinion that the Pope may with easy conscience suppress the Society, provided he observes the precepts of canon law and the rules of prudence and justice. It was I who, during the conclave, tied the knots that now bind the Pope in this affair of the suppression."

After his election Clement XIV reversed the policy of his predecessor and tried to conciliate the Bourbon Courts in every possible way. He treated the General of the Society with discourtesy when he appeared to congratulate him on his election and refused to admit him thereafter; he withdrew Clement XIII's brief of excommunication against Parma; he abolished the public reading of the Bull *In coena Domini* on Holy Thursdays;

he created Pombal's brother a cardinal, and so on; but all these concessions could not placate the hostile courts, which insisted imperiously on the abolition of the Society. Then began a struggle that lasted three years, during which Clement month after month attempted to stave off a final decision. His request for proofs of the crimes alleged against the Society was turned down contemptuously on the ground that it would be dishonourable to the sovereigns to call in question the truth and justice of their edicts.

One act of the Pope raised a storm. On 12 July, 1769 Clement XIV renewed, according to custom, the graces of privileges of the Society in a note addressed to his beloved son, Lorenzo Ricci, General of the Society: "We willingly concede the treasures of those heavenly gifts which the Almighty wishes us to dispense, to those who by their charity towards God and their neighbour and their zeal of the Christian religion procure, as we know, with all earnestness the salvation of souls." These words, though merely an official formula, aroused a protest from the Bourbons. The ambitious Zelada was the first to stir up the fire of fury. The ministers returned to the attack. By the 8 August "His Holiness had already promised four times that he would suppress the Society." On the 9 Sept., Bernis says: "The whole art of this affair must now consist in getting the Pope to take some steps day by day, so that he will find himself enmeshed in the net in such a way that he will not be able to extricate himself without creating a scene." When Bernis repeated his demands on 20 Nov., 1769 the Pope said that he had not promised to suppress the Society immediately, but only when circumstances would permit. Ten days later, however, Bernis had better success. On 30 Nov., 1769 he induced the Pope to give a formal promise in writing to the King of Spain that he would suppress the Society. Choiseul considered this letter the most important step forward they had made. Hitherto Clement had given

only verbal and conditional promises, but now that they had obtained a written and unconditional promise, the Pope could not go back. Bernis claims the whole credit of this exploit: "The question now is not to know whether the Pope wished to avoid suppressing the Society or not, but whether His Holiness, after the formal promises he has made in writing to the King of Spain, can dispense himself from executing them. This letter, which I made him write to the Catholic king, binds him so firmly that if the Court of Spain does not change its sentiments, the Pope is forced in spite of himself to finish the work."

Nevertheless Clement XIV succeeded in postponing the final decision for the next two years (1771-72), during which he proceeded to carry out his plan of placating the Bourbons by humiliating and crippling the Society. He tolerated and encouraged the excesses of Malvezzi at Bologna and the equally iniquitous proceedings of Marefoschi and his two underlings, Macedonio and Alfani, in the visitation of colleges and seminaries in Rome, of which the Jesuits had the administration, among which was the Irish College; but we must pass over these events and hurry on to the 29th of November, 1772, when Clement gave a final undertaking to suppress the Society.

A new Spanish ambassador, Moñino, arrived in Rome on 4 July, 1772 determined to bring matters quickly to a head. He began immediately to terrorise the Pope by holding forth on the dire consequences of a refusal to comply with the wishes of the Courts. In an audience on 23 Aug., the Pope told him of a new plan he had of attaining the desired end: he would let the Society die out by forbidding the reception of novices, and cripple its power by withdrawing faculties for preaching and hearing confessions. Moñino rejected the proposal, and a week later produced a plan of his own. This plan was derived from the Pragmatic Sanction of 2 April, 1767, by which Charles III had banished the Society from the dominions of Spain. It contained eighteen articles which were

afterwards incorporated into the executory part of the Brief of Suppression.

Yet it was not all plain sailing. On 20 Oct., 1772, Moñino had to report to Spain that the Pope had raised a new difficulty, viz. : " that he could not hold a Consistory for the abolition of the Society because, with the exception of York, Marefoschi and another, all the rest of the cardinals were opposed to the suppression or at least not certainly in favour of it." That this was the sentiment of the College of Cardinals is confirmed by a letter of Tanucci written on 10 Nov., in which he says : " Since all Rome is for the Jesuits, force must be applied to the Pope and threats must be made that Spain, Naples, France and Portugal will break off all relations with the Holy See." On 15 November, Moñino had a violent interview with the Pope ; on the 20 Nov., he renewed his threats of rupture. The Pope replied that he required time, for he had no one to trust and would have to draw up the Brief of Suppression himself ; and added (according to Cardinal Orsini, 24 Nov.) : *Temete la mia morte*, Fear for my death. Moñino, perplexed at the resistance, could devise no other expedient than to bribe the Pope's entourage. On 26 November, he wrote to Spain : " The only thing now for me to do is to deliver a final attack on Father Bontempi. If this does not succeed, there is nothing to hope for." But a promise of 40,000 scudi to be paid to Father Bontempi when the suppression took place, made it succeed. Next day Bontempi assured Moñino that victory was certain, and on 29 November, Moñino had another interview with the Pope, who said he would keep his word and finish the business by suppressing the Society ; and to Cardinal de Bernis the Pope said that it had taken him three years and a half to overcome the respect that the curia, prelates, nobles and people of Rome had for the Society. This was the decisive step. On it Pastor remarks : " All previous declarations might have been explained away as private expressions,

but here it was question of an answer to an official demand. It had hitherto been possible for the Pope to reply '*Non possumus*,' though indeed he had not strength enough of character to do so, but from this on his hands were tied."

Early in December Moñino's draft was handed to Zelada, who was put under an oath of secrecy and ordered to collaborate with Moñino in drawing up the future brief. Zelada finished his revision on 28 December, and on the last day of the year 1772 Moñino reported: "Zelada has examined my draft of the bull of suppression and approved it. He praises it beyond measure, and had only four insignificant changes to suggest, which I adopted immediately." "This document," says Pastor, "agrees substantially with the Brief of Suppression, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. No changes except of a formal character were subsequently made." The draft was handed to the Pope on 6 Jan., 1773, who told Moñino on 17 Jan. that he had only two or three insignificant changes to make in the wording. As the Pope was proceeding leisurely, Moñino attacked him on 6 February for procrastinating; but the Pope replied: "Soon, very soon the Bourbons will be satisfied." Finally on 11 February the Pope sent Bontempi with a copy of the Brief to Moñino that he might forward it to Charles III. "It took a pretty sharp and angry interview with the Pope to bring things so far," Moñino confessed.

Negotiations to secure the adhesion of Austria caused further delay. Maria Teresa had at first supported the Society; but the marriage alliance between her daughter, Marie Antoinette, and Louis XVI, the future King of France, induced her for political reasons to proclaim her indifference and readiness to accept whatever the Pope should decide. When this declaration reached Rome, it was felt that the opinions of the lesser Catholic princes and states could be despised. The printing of the Brief was now begun; but it had to be done privately, for the Pope could not trust the Camera Apostolica. This reveals

to us the great weakness of his policy. He had cut himself off from all those to whom a Pope would have looked for advice and support. He did not consult the College of Cardinals for he knew the majority was opposed to the suppression. Letters from the bishops of the Catholic world were liable to interference. When the bishops of Germany wrote to the Pope in favour of the Society, Bontempi intercepted the document and delivered it to Moñino. Surrounded as he was by a small group of hostile cardinals, self-seeking officials and corrupt favourites, the wonder is that he held out so long. Even as late as the first July, Moñino complains: "It is incredible how much it costs me to get the Holy Father to advance as quickly as the business demands." But the constant pressure told in the end. On the 21st of July, 1773, the Pope signed the Brief of Suppression. Well, indeed, may Pastor say: "If any fact can ever be proved from official documents, it is evident that in this affair enormous pressure was brought to bear on the Pope." A Congregation appointed to deal with the execution of the Brief selected the 16th of August as the day of publication. On that day the secretary Macedonio accompanied by soldiers and police appeared in the evening at the Gesù and announced the dissolution of the Order. The General and his Assistants were detained in the English College till 23 September, when they were transferred as close prisoners to the Castle of St. Angelo.

Exactly a year later Clement XIV died 22 September, 1774. During these twelve months he was a prey to profound mental depression, and according to Pastor there cannot be the slightest doubt but this recurrent despondency was connected with the suppression of the Society. "The Brief of 21 July, 1773," says Pastor, "signified the visible victory of illuminism and state absolutism over the Church and its head. The Pope had without doubt the power to dissolve the Order, but it is another question whether he was justified in

doing so or not, whether namely the reasons forced on the Pope were valid and whether he was personally convinced of their justice. That the words of the Brief are a valid proof of the accusations brought against the Society must be emphatically denied, a forced signature is worthless as a proof of facts." During the whole reign of Clement XIV, both before and after the suppression, no defence of the Society was allowed to be printed or circulated in Rome, but the sentiments of the Romans were manifested after his death in many striking ways.

The suppression of the Society brought joy to the leagued enemies of the Church and to many ecclesiastics from whom better might have been expected. The enemies of the Society praised the Pope to the skies, but, as Pastor says, " the opening of the archives put an end to the glorification of Clement XIV. As authentic records began to see the light of day, the judgment passed on him became more and more unfavourable. He stands now before us one of the weakest of Popes, but also one of those most to be pitied."

We need not pursue the disedifying history of the execution of the Brief nor describe the irreparable harm it did to Catholic education and the foreign missions. A word however may be said about the providential survival of the Society in Russia. By a decree of the Congregation appointed to execute the Brief, the latter was to take effect only when it had been officially intimated by the ecclesiastical authorities to the members of the Society, and as the bishops of that part of Poland that had been recently incorporated in the Empire of Russia did not intimate the decree to the Jesuit communities existing in those provinces, the Society continued to exist there much to the chagrin of Charles III and his friends.

The belief that the Society would, sooner or later, be revived was widespread, and the words of St. Alphonsus de Liguori prove that this belief was not confined to

members of the suppressed Order. "The whole thing," he said, "is a plot of Jansenists and infidels. The Society is not the only mark at which they aim, they aim at the Society only to strike more surely Church and State"; and while deprecating criticism of the Pope's action, he added: "Will of the Pope, will of God! Poor Pope, what else could he do in the circumstances in which he found himself? As for us, all we can do is to adore the impenetrable judgments of God, for I am sure that if even one Jesuit survives in the time to come, he alone will be enough to re-establish the Society."

Forty-one years were to elapse before this prophecy was fulfilled. After some partial restorations had been approved by Clement XIV's successors, Pius VII by his Constitution of 7 August, 1814 abrogated the Brief of 21 July, 1773, and restored the Society throughout the world, because to him "it seemed it would be a serious crime before God, if he were in such troubled times to deprive the bark of the Church any longer of these strong and skilful oarsmen." "If by these words," says Pastor, "Pius VII, a son of St. Benedict, condemns indirectly the chief exploit of Clement XIV on the ground that the universal good of the Church had been injured in the highest degree by the suppression of the famous Order, Protestant historians are at one with him when they admit that the annihilation of the Society at the dictation of Spain was directly opposed to the interests of the papacy." New discoveries in archives are more likely to confirm than to minimise Pastor's unfavourable judgment of Clement XIV. His reign will always remain a sad page of ecclesiastical history, and this brief review may conclude with the words of our present Holy Father Pius XI, who refers to these events in the following touching words: *Pagina dolorosa di storia, tutti lo sanno, dolorosa anche solo a rileggerla a tanta distancia di tempo.* (Allocution 19 Feb. 1933).

JOHN MACERLEAN

CHRONICLE

The International Congress of Catholic Secondary Education, at The Hague, July 31—August 5, 1933

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THE first of these triennial congresses of Catholic Secondary Schools, held at Brussels, July–August, 1930, was at the time noticed in the pages of *Studies* (September, 1930). Held under the auspices of the Belgian Federation of Catholic Secondary Schools, on the occasion of the centennial celebrations in honour of the Independence of the Kingdom of Belgium, this most serviceable undertaking, despite the very short notice that could be given, proved a real success. At its final Assembly, presided over by Archbishop Micara, Nuncio Apostolic at Brussels, its international usefulness was already felt to be so well assured that a Central Committee of five was named to prepare for a second Congress.

The decision to hold a second congress was taken in that year, 1930; it was fixed for Holland in 1932; and early in 1933 the place of meeting was selected. The Nuncio at The Hague, the Archbishop of Utrecht and the suffragan Bishops of Holland (Haarlem, Bois-le-duc, Breda, Roermond), with several of the Executive Ministers of Holland, willingly honoured the Congress by their countenance; and so did Dr. Titus Brandsma, Rector of the new Catholic University of Nymegen, as well as a dozen other prominent Catholics of Holland, lay and cleric. Local arrangements were in the hands of a representative group, chiefly laymen engaged in Secondary Education, among whom were Dr. J. P. C. de Boer, Rector of the Royal and Catholic Lyceum at The Hague, Messrs. E. C. Franke, H. J. Hartwijk, and I. W. Jonkergouw, President of the St. Bonaventura Association.

The choice of a place of assembly, the Lyceum for Catholic Girls at The Hague, was most happy. This fine modern building provides a full day Secondary Education for over 250 pupils: it is a typical specimen of modern architectural skill in the service of Education as well as of the equitable liberality of the laws of Holland concerning religious training and influence within school years. Due in no small measure to the large-minded enterprise of Mgr. J. D. J. Aengenent, Bishop of Haarlem—in

whose diocese The Hague is included—it provides under excellent Catholic teachers a full classical side—Greek as well as Latin—and a well-planned course of Modern Studies according to the public education plan of Holland.

The dignified and finely designed school chapel served for the opening Mass of the Congress, said by the Dean of The Hague, Mgr. Van Dam, who also presided at the opening meeting of the Assembly in the equally effective school hall. The *Veni Creator* sung above was suitably followed a few minutes later by the reading of the message of good wishes and the Apostolic Benediction sent to the Congress in the Holy Father's name by Cardinal Pacelli. The Nuncio Apostolic to Holland, Mgr. Schioppa, absent owing to severe illness, sent for the opening of the second day his warm congratulations and thanks for the message of sympathy sent him by the Congress ; while at the closing meeting on the fourth day the Nuncio was replaced by the Bishop of the Diocese.

The day's work always began at 9.15 a.m., and there were usually five to six hours given to papers and discussions.

First in significance must be placed the ampler papers, spoken or read, which were surveys of the movement of thought, in many countries, as regards education since the opening of the European conflict a score of years ago. Such were the expositions that took a full hour to complete in each case. Replacing Dr. J. Schroeteler of Dusseldorf and Frankfort—whose illness was regretted by all who had the pleasure of hearing him at Brussels three years ago—Professor Benn, of the University of Bonn, gave an admirably clear account of the controversial issues in German Education and of their evolution since 1919. He spoke in German, as did another notable lay Catholic, Dr. Heun of Dusseldorf, treating more especially of the last four years' activities in the speculative or theoretical order ; but both German speakers followed up their main utterance by terse and lucid summaries in French. French, indeed, proved once again to be the most practical medium for the exchange of educational thought ; and save for one brief and brilliant address on the last day of the Congress, it was always availed of by speakers from many lands. The French Oratorian Père Sabatier, gave us an elaborate and finely-fashioned exposition of the attacks on the place of discipline and punishment in Catholic doctrine concerning education : no one was willing to miss one phrase of that admirably well-proportioned analytic and constructive utterance. Of the same type was the address of Père Yves de la Brière, S.J., on the

relation of the Catholic schools and colleges to International peace and the League of Nations, though more oratorical and hortatory than Père Sabatier's critical dissection of modern theorists. Dr. M. Casotti, the brilliant lay Professor of Education at the Catholic University of Milan, devoted himself to a thorough philosophical examination of contemporary non-Catholic plans of education, dealing more in detail with naturalistic evolutionism, amoralism, dilettantism. He leaned to the view that the method aspects of many such plans, purged of the false philosophy from which they have developed, can be made use of to a fair extent in what he terms the " serene activity " of Catholic instruction.

Three of the dozen statements made on specific countries, during two days of the Congress discussions, approached these larger papers in amplitude and importance. These were given us on contemporary Spain by Dr. Herrera Oria, a former member of the State Council on Public Instruction there, and by Professor E. Devaud, of the University of Friburg, on the educational organisation of Soviet Russia. Professor Devaud saw in the productionism of the new Russian schools an extension of the principles and aims of vocational and technical education to determine the trend of all studies. The Spanish situation, on more than one occasion during the Congress, was dealt with from the point of view of constructive Catholic action, with a note of hope, even of confidence, concerning the development of popular organisations for the replacement of true education in its due position.

This second main type of discussion also included a paper of signal force, read by Dr. S. Frieden, Director of the National Library of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. He analysed with almost unsparing acuteness the untoward results of the separateness, even when both were present in the same school and school system, of Catholic instruction in religion and of the subjects of secular education. Dr. Frieden's paper was a most apt commentary on the importance of unification in education, a truth repeatedly stressed in the Apostolic Letters of Popes Pius IX, X, and XI, as well as by Leo XIII and Bendict XV. The detailed treatment of this topic would furnish ample matter for a future session of the International Congress of Catholic Secondary Education.

The shorter addresses on specific countries, and the sections for the discussions on methods and aims in Letters and in Sciences, naturally presented a multitude of issues, above all on the question of what are termed ' new ' and ' active ' methods of instruction,

the main concern of the Congress in its Second Assembly. Dr. Barbera, of Rome, pointed to the Agazzi Principle by reason of its naturalness, its aloofness from elaborated material, and its full availability for all schools at no cost, as being the true Italian method. It stressed the truth that the real " Children's Houses " are and always must be the children's own homes. He was clear, too, that the subversive philosophy of Gentile had been countered in Italian Secondary Education by the developments of the past four years. Dr. John C. McQuaid, C.S.Sp., President of Blackrock College, Dublin, gave an excellent and most attractive exposition of the freedom of Catholic Secondary Studies within the National Plan of the Irish Free State. His paper was fully equal in effective influence to any other of the forty discourses delivered during the Congress, and was widely and most appreciatively spoken of by the delegates from all lands. By contrast with the liberties of choice available under the Dublin Ministry of Education, the otherwise admirable system of Holland was described by Dr. van den Broek as limiting too severely the initiative of teachers. With these practical surveys may be associated the sectional meetings of the third day on methods in Classical Studies and in Sciences, including Drawing. Both sessions led to vivid contrasts of views : and as usual in such meetings, the experienced practitioners maintained their own views with ardour.

A distinct advance on the plan of the Brussels Congress of three years ago was the organisation of a special section on the Education of Catholic girls at the secondary stage (12–18 years of age), most appropriate to the fine school in which the Congress met. Mlle. Debordes and many other women educators, more especially from France, made a most valuable contribution to the interest and complete efficiency of the Assembly at The Hague.

The general conclusions arrived at by the delegates to the Congress were summed up on the closing day. This day opened with a most impressive paper by Dr. J. de Boer, Rector of the Lycée for Catholic Girls at The Hague. He treated of the relation of the secondary school age to the Lay Apostolate, and summed up decisively on what may be termed the conservative side. Preparation for that Apostolate is the work of the Catholic Secondary School ; but active work outside the school is to be deprecated at that age. This view, taken so definitely by a conspicuous lay educator, did not pass without criticism from other delegates present, lay and cleric, men and women. It won the adhesion of Père François Charmot, S.J., of Lyons, who was also

prominent in the earlier discussions on the aim and content of Modern Classical Studies. This impressive discussion, which was held at the Jesuit Secondary School for Boys at The Hague, closed with the inspection of the excellent new college buildings within which it had taken place. Opportunities were availed of by a large number of delegates for similar educational visits to other Dutch Catholic colleges in various cities : they included a visit to the new Catholic University so ably presided over by Dr. Brandsma.

The main themes in the Summary and Concluding Resolutions were two. The need of testing all new methods of education by the principles of Catholic philosophy, so as to ensure their purification from all the false theories on which their inventors and advocates so often based them, was the leading declaration. The issues of specific Catholic action in regard of the Lay Apostolate were dealt with by reference to the House at Nazareth, beside the village school, as the true model for Catholic education, a period of life that called for quiet and reserved, as well as well-regulated disciplinary training for the fuller responsibilities and activities of later years.

To this Congress, it may in conclusion be here added, the principal Catholic Secondary Associations in Ireland gave early and generous support, a support that was most fully and cordially appreciated by the Congress and by the Central Committee. The exhibit of Catholic secondary school work in many phases, held during the Congress period at the spacious apartments on the Lyceumplein, drew many visits from the delegates. The materials furnished by the Dublin Ministry of Education, with the messages and good wishes sent to The Hague by the Chancellor of the National University of Ireland and by the Minister of Education, were universally welcomed. So, too, was the lesson of efficient nation-wide organisation for Catholic Secondary Instruction in Religion directed by the Irish Episcopate and shown in its Examination Papers, its Answer Books, and its Programmes and Diocesan Reports. The extension of this national system into the Colleges of the National University, in the Departments of Dogma and of Medical Ethics, were also shown in representative exhibits for the current year, 1932–1933. They were closely examined and inquired into, and the staff in charge of the exhibition was above all else gratified by the demand for copies of both printed and written materials throughout the Congress Week.

T. Corcoran.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

LA SCULPTURE IRLANDAISE PENDANT LES DOUZE PREMIERS SIECLES DE L'ERE CHRETIENNE. Par Françoise Henry, Docteur ès Lettres. Deux volumes d'environ 238 pp. (25 x 32 cm.), 145 figures dans le texte et 171 planches hors texte. Etudes d'art et d'archéologie sous la direction d'Henri Focillon. Paris : Librairie Ernest Leroux. 1933. 500 *fr.*

WITHIN these past two years persons of acknowledged standing in art and archaeology have been attracted by the subject of early Christian art in Ireland, and have published their studies, wider and closer and better informed than heretofore, in sumptuous volumes illustrated with the technical accuracy required by present-day standards. In 1931 we had *Crosses and Culture of Ireland* from the late William Dorr Boardman Professor of Fine Arts in Harvard University, Dr. Kingsley Porter tragically lost this summer off the coast of Tir Conaill. In 1932 Dr. Adolf Mahr of the National Museum gave us the first part of his *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, of which the remaining part is awaited by the subscribers with expectancy. The two volumes here noticed are now produced by Mlle. Françoise Henry, Docteur-ès-Lettres, Attachée au Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, with an abundance and wealth of illustration that yield in no wise to their predecessors. In one thing Mlle. Henry's illustrations are particularly noticeable ; they were to a very large extent secured by her own camera during years of sustained and devoted study of the monuments through the length and breadth of Ireland.

For the outcome of those years of study it is modestly claimed that it is principally an attempt at classification. It is more than that. It is a conscientious attempt to apply the principles of modern criticism and analysis to determine the origins and essential features of early Irish art, to trace its development, examining the influences to which it is conceived to have been subjected, their effects, and how far its native vitality was shown in making novel and foreign elements its own by adoption or transmutation.

Dividing her study into four main sections, the gifted author has discussed successively the chronology of the monuments, the ornaments, the crosses, the sculpture of the churches, and has concluded with a succinct but careful and instructive summary. The second section, which deals in detail with the several forms of ornament that display the distinctive spirit of Irish decorative art, its vigour and limitations, its movement in progress and

decadence, is naturally the greatest part of the whole. Here Mlle. Henry has employed a subtle and searching faculty of estimating values, of detecting filiations, analogies and contrasts, utilising the large literature set out in her bibliography with diligence and insight. In a matter that is not free from tendencies to be indefinite and elusive she exposes her doctrine with admirable clearness and firmness, and as the exposition covers the whole field of the subject, it merits and it will repay serious consideration. Nowhere will modern critical methods be found applied to Irish problems with more suggestiveness. Whether it is admitted or not that a case set up has been fully established, it will be found that Mlle. Henry has much to say that will add to the reader's information, enlarge his views and give him a better understanding of native Irish art.

Perhaps, indeed, modern criticism does not sufficiently allow for the solidarity of human nature, is too apt to demand its *acte de naissance* from obvious themes that must reply, more reasonably than Topsy, that they have simply "growed." If one opens the second volume of Déchelette's *Manuel* at page 522, he will see, depicted on a fragment of pottery attributed to the earliest Halstattian times, a human form such as, at least before artificial silk came so much into view, it would have been represented in every nursery which had the use of pencil and paper. To place these two representations side by side in order to claim that the later one has come in the line of tradition from the earlier one is an argument as valid as some that are used to establish filiations in art.

It is now accepted generally that Irish Christian art was, in the words of Mr. O. M. Dalton, "marked by the appearance of new motives Syrian and Coptic by descent." Mlle. Henry would refer this accession to the disturbance of the Christian East due to Mahomet's victorious arms in the seventh and eighth centuries. Ought not those Oriental elements, with better reason, be assigned to our original Christian endowment brought to us from Gaul while Auxerre, Arles and Lerins were under a strong influence of Syrian and Coptic traditions? On one side we are asked to fall back on a contribution from unrecorded fugitives whom nobody has particularised and whom nothing in history has stated to have reached our shores. On the other is our authentic inheritance with the documents of antiquity to prove it. Our early written traditions are aware of a school of ecclesiastical art in S. Patrick's day with Bishop Assicus at its head, to supply altar furniture and cases for the sacred books, necessary equip-

ment for the new churches and ecclesiastical establishments. Those churches, being on a different plan from the domestic buildings of the time, must have developed a new constructive system and, of course, would be adorned on new decorative principles. The historian of our monumental crosses will also note in those early writings the mention of standing crosses as distinctive of the Christian grave. All this is valid and significant evidence.

On the point of historical testimony, Mlle. Henry has somewhat misapprehended what concerns Cummian and the paschal controversy. The historical importance of that subject may justify comment at some length. The controversy was no longer what is called a live issue in 730, the date she has assumed. The incidents mentioned occurred ninety or a hundred years earlier. S. Cummian was not sent to Rome on that business, but he was one of those that sent representatives to Rome, who living there for a time in the same lodging with Greek and Jew, Scythian and Egyptian, were with those nationals in S. Peter's to celebrate all together the Easter of the universal church. "This," says Cummian, "the envoys on their return testified in our presence before the holy things." How mistaken is Mlle. Henry's interpretation of that passage: "Il faut pour convaincre Saint Cummian, envoyé à Rome vers 730, les témoignages d'un Egyptien, d'un Grec, d'un Scythe et d'un Hébreu, qui lui affirment que toute la Chrétienté célèbre Pâques à la même date que Rome." With reason did Cummian say: "valde certiora utpote visa quam audita." One may suspect that Mlle. Henry did not herself see Cummian's letter, but trusted to what she heard of it from some one not deserving of her confidence. Had she herself read that the Fathers of the Irish Church recognised Rome as the fount of their baptism and religious knowledge ("fons baptismi nostri et sapientiae") and that the envoys from Cummian and his associate Fathers were sent there as children to their mother ("velut natos ad matrem") to receive from her "meliora et potiora probata sine scrupulo humiliter," the sentence: "Leur étonnement lorsqu'ils se trouvent en contact avec les missionnaires envoyés par le pape Grégoire en Angleterre montre bien l'isolement où ils avaient vècu jusque-là," would not have been written. There was neither isolation nor astonishment, and any deductions made from such a presumption must be delusory. No more would that other sentence have been written which mentions "le contact soudain et orageux avec le Papauté." The phrase, no doubt, alludes to the meeting of

Streaneshalch in 652, between the Irish bishop of Lindisfarne and the English abbot Wilfrid. So far as Bede's narrative goes the conference, though it ended in disagreement, was conducted quietly enough; but however stormy it might be supposed, the contact was not with the papacy, but with an Englishman of unconciliatory temper in England.

As regards the stone at Fahan in Inishowen, on which Professor Macalister has happily deciphered a form of the doxology in Greek, some observations may be made in view of the basic position assigned to it. It is treated in this work as one of the earliest monuments of this kind. On artistic grounds Mlle. Henry would place it and the kindred stone at Carndonagh as the output of an age that had not yet arrived at its development, a view which the Greek inscription, assigned to the second half of the seventh century, is held to confirm.

Now, indifferent execution, poor distribution of design and, above all, an ill-managed and bungled interlacing may be characteristic of decline rather than of growth. It is the earlier interlacings that are the firmest. Such, as I remember, was the opinion held by the late H. S. Crawford about this Fahan stone. He could not, it is true, decipher the Greek inscription. But how far does it justify a date in the middle of the seventh century?

The argument to that end is the following: The Greek text differs from the doxology commonly in use in the West by inserting the words "and honour" after "Glory." "Or, cette forme, gloire et honneur etc., est celle prescrite en 633 par le Concile de Tolède. Ce fait, ainsi que l'emploi du grec, semble désigner la séconde moitié du VII^{e} siècle comme la date la plus vraisemblable de la stèle de Fahan." The argument is illegitimate. The only justifiable deduction would be that this inscription cannot be earlier than 633 when that formula was prescribed; but nothing shows how much later it may be. It would not be quite fair to leave the matter there, for we are not playing at dialectics; and so let it be said that the Council of Toledo leaves the date of its formula undetermined. It was already the recognised doxology in Spain. The shorter one was the novelty there in 633 when certain persons were beginning to use it. The thirteenth canon of that Council states: "publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus 'Gloria et honor'"; and that is the formula prescribed, not as an innovation but as already in use, by the next canon against what was said, not generally, but only "a quibusdam hucusque." The cutting of the inscription at Fahan betrays a want of familiarity with Greek letters. For the

Greek ν (*nu*), the lapidary has inscribed H, a form of the letter N which was in vogue in and after the eleventh century. In Petrie's great repertory, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, this form of N (also cut there as a majuscule among minuscule letters) appears for the first time in an inscription of the beginning of the eleventh century—viz., LXXI, 170. C. McNeill

Biography

TERESA NEUMANN. Le Mystère des Stigmatisés. By Jeanne Danemarie. Paris: Bernard Grasset. 1933. Pp. 272.

THERESE NEUMANN. By B. M. Lavaud, O.P., Dr. Van der Elst, and Dom Alois Mager, O.S.B. in *Etudes Carmélitaines*, October 1932 and April 1933. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 15 fr. each.

KONNERSREUTH, A Medical and Psychological Study of the Case of Teresa Neumann. By R. W. Hynek, M.D. Translated and adapted by Lancelot C. Sheppard. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. Pp. 152. 4s.

Discussions of the case of the Bavarian stigmatica, Teresa Neumann, multiply apace, and those here mentioned can by no means be regarded as representing the whole output of the last twelve months. We give precedence to Mme. Danemarie's volume, not only because it is the most recent, but also because it is very agreeably written and so popular in its appeal that it is bound to be widely read. The first half of the book is devoted to Anne Catherine Emmerich, the latter to the living stigmatica who after the interval of a century has attained even greater celebrity. Mme. Danemarie has not much sympathy for the campaign which Father Hümpfner has launched against Brentano's good faith and indirectly also against Anne Catherine's biographer, Father Schmöger. She thinks the suggestion extravagant that Brentano's notes represent his own ideas rather than the visionary's utterances; and in this view we heartily concur. We are also agreed that Anne Catherine did possess some strange telepathic faculty, which on occasion found expression in an astonishingly accurate visualisation of Oriental topography and past scriptural history. The trouble is that in this, as in all similar cases, we can never tell when she is merely reflecting the thoughts in Brentano's mind, and when she is objectively clairvoyant. In what relates to Teresa Neumann, Mme. Danemarie speaks from a personal, even if very brief, acquaintance with Konnersreuth, and, for the rest, she has gone to the most approved sources of information. Though we do not ourselves

share the author's conviction of the supernatural character of all the phenomena, her narrative has the charm which comes from literary ability and experience, while its merit is attested, indirectly at least, by an " epilogue " from the pen of M. Georges Goyau de l'Académie francaise. In the circumstances it surprises us that more pains have not been taken in correcting the proofs, for the misprints are unfortunately abundant and rather irritating.

The five articles on Teresa Neumann, which together take up 150 pages of the *Etudes Carmélitaines* for October and April, are mainly concerned with a more scientific discussion of the stigmatisation problem. If Père Lavaud satisfies us that Teresa is a saintly and highly privileged soul, we cannot subscribe to the other conclusions at which he and Dr. Van der Elst have arrived. Dom Mager's temperate presentment of the case is to our thinking much more reliable. In particular he has rendered a notable service by his firm protest against the assumption that the words which come from the lips of Teresa in her " state of exalted repose " are to be received as the utterances of Jesus Christ Himself. Certain other difficulties which might be suggested by Père Lavaud's attitude to the subject have already been dwelt upon here in a separate article. Although only remotely connected with Teresa Neumann, we may also call attention to the many pages of admirable comment which the *Etudes Carmélitaines* devotes to the alleged apparitions of Our Lady at Beauraing. It will be impossible for any serious investigator in future to disregard the adverse conclusions of Professor Van Gehuchten and Professor Stephen De Greef.

Finally, as regards the book of Dr. Hynek we can only say that his laboured argument, which aims at showing that hysteria has no place in the phenomena of Konnersreuth, is far from finding favour with certain very competent medical authorities whom we have been able to consult. We may accept his testi mony as to the excellent impression which Teresa makes upon those privileged visitors who are brought into personal contact with her, but Dr. Hynek can establish no claim to speak of her case as a neurologist possessing expert knowledge. H. T.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS AND HIS AGE. By C. E. Stevens. Oxford : Clarendon Press. London : H. Milford. 1933. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS convenient and readable little monograph is an excellent summary of all that can be gleaned from his considerable literary

remains of the life and character of Sidonius. It does more critically and fully and with a more extensive discussion of difficult points and citation of authorities the work done already by Dalton in the excellent Introduction to his translation of the Letters, published in 1915. Neither book is at all likely to render the other superfluous. Rather they act as complements one to another, and whereas Mr. Dalton approaches Sidonius as man of letters, Mr. Stevens treats him rather from the standpoint of the historian. He is admirably qualified for his enterprise ; his whole book shows evidence of very wide and intelligent reading, sound judgment on matters where deep knowledge is an essential prerequisite to any judgment at all, and an acquaintance with the archaeological and topographical aspects of his subject that it must have taken much pains to acquire. Students of fifth century history, having to their hands the Teubner text, Dalton's translation, and this monograph, have their task made easy and pleasant ; and this work will not need to be done again.

Sidonius is a man of very great interest both as writer and character. At once Roman noble and canonised Christian Bishop, Arvernian patriot and " last poet and prose-writer of antiquity," his early years were spent in the effort to achieve an honourable career in the service of the Empire and his later life as the subject of a Visigothic king who definitely broke up the last remnants of Roman rule in Gaul. He thus looks back to the ancient tradition of civilised life and the ancient literature and learning in which his mind was steeped, and forward to the great collapse of the Dark Ages which succeeded him. It is instructive to compare him with the pagan Symmachus who preceded him by more than a generation and with the Christian Gregory of Tours who came a century or more after him. As compared with Symmachus he is more interesting and vivid ; as compared with Gregory he is astonishingly cultured, the last Roman of the West to show a familiarity with Greek literature, and an obstinate lover and imitator of the great literary models of earlier times.

The style of Sidonius has been condemned with every variety of epigrammatic severity for its ponderousness, its childish exaggeration of rhetorical devices, and its eternal echoes of Pliny, Symmachus and Calpurnius. He was the ultimate product of the rhetorical education which did so much to sterilise the intelligence of the later Roman nobility. The cliché was his favourite literary recreation, and even when he is describing something he has seen we can never be sure that he is not repeating somebody else's words about something quite different. Mr. Stevens

rightly defends him, however, from his more extravagant critics, and points out that his interest for us lies precisely in the extent to which he was a child of his age. He was too great a man after all to be completely buried under the weight of tradition, and we owe to him almost all of living interest that we know about the fifth century. His brief pictures of King Theodoric the Visigoth, of the Emperor Majorian, or of the Frankish prince Sigismer, not to speak of his descriptions of journeys in Gaul or Italy and his account of the manners of the fabulously wealthy nobles he visited and dined with, are worth much writing that might be better but might not convey so much. The changes and chances of his career, from its beginning when he was son-in-law to an Emperor, through its middle period when he was Prefect of Rome and worried about its failing corn-supply, to its close when, as Bishop of Clermont, he was encouraging by religious exercises the one really serious effort at resistance to the Visigothic power in Gaul, give him a further interest. Although so steeped in pagan literature that he was never able to write convincingly on Christian subjects, there can be no doubt of his devotion to the religion he practised, and the reverence in which he was held long after his death in Clermont was by no means foolish or without reason. Mr. Stevens admirably shows all the different sides of his character and activity, and illustrates through him not only the death of Roman political control or the decay of Roman tradition but the strong emergence side by side with them of Christian political and cultural leadership. M. T.

ST. JEROME. The Early Years. By Paul Monceaux. Translated by F. J. Sheed. London. Sheed and Ward. 1933. 6*s*.

THIS is an unusually good book. M. Monceaux is, of course, a scholar of high standing; and his *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* is one of the finest monuments of modern French Catholic learning. In his preface to this short biography the author gives us a glimpse of the very extensive literature on which he has drawn; and the opening sentences of the first chapter may be cited as an instance of M. Monceaux's care for critical accuracy of detail. "Jerome—in Latin *Eusebius Hieronymus*—was born about the year 347, in the town of Stridon, in the north-east corner of Italy. These three lines summarise a great mass of research work. They contain two new facts, now apparently established, and of the utmost importance for Jerome's biography—the date of his birth, the geographical situation of his birth-place." These claims are fully justified. No detail has here been

neglected that might throw light on the first thirty years of St. Jerome's life : the years which cover the period of his education at home and in the schools of Rome ; the visit to Gaul ; the first ventures in ascetical life at Aquileia ; the pilgrimage to the East ; the year at Antioch ; and finally the first unsuccessful venture in the Eastern desert. The story is told simply and rapidly, for M. Monceaux's learning and critical accuracy has never been allowed to hamper his native gifts as a born story-teller. Indeed I have often envied Mr. Sheed his task as a translator of so straightforward a writer. There is hardly a sentence that does not go smoothly and easily into English ; and yet the French quality is everywhere unmistakable. The account of Jerome's education under Donatus is excellent ; but this book is chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the slow development of the Saint's vocation to a life of eremitical austerity combined with unflagging devotion to the cause of Christian learning. That is a rare combination at all times, and the clash of two such disparate tendencies was bound to lead occasionally to startling incidents. M. Monceaux plainly regrets none of his Saint's indiscretions—for they make this book so much more readable. And, on the other hand, he has a remarkably sympathetic insight into the sincerity of the young scholar's idealism. Some of the stages in this unique vocation are admirably described : the young man's baptism at Rome, for example, at the age of nineteen ; his first contact with the Eastern traditions of asceticism at Trèves and Aquileia—two cities which had been hallowed by the presence of St. Athanasius half a century earlier ; and the year of hesitation at Antioch, which ends abruptly with the famous dream. But the finest achievement of M. Monceaux's criticism is, to my mind at least, the definite proof that Jerome was an Italian, not an Illyrian. Seen in the light of Italian intellectual genius and Italian spirituality, Jerome's life is a fresh proof of that great nation's inexhaustible vitality. M. Monceaux has had the curious whim of constantly contrasting throughout his book the Jerome of fourth century Italy, whom we learn to know in these pages, with the Jerome of mediaeval and Renaissance fancy, as he can be seen in any of our European picture-galleries. It is a striking contrast. The painters have been sadly at fault in their history. Yet they too have helped to build the great Catholic tradition of which Jerome was so doughty a champion fifteen hundred years ago.

A. G.

FROM FAITH TO FAITH. An Autobiography of Religious Development. By W. E. Orchard. London : M. A. Magnani. 1933. 7s. 6d.

THE DILEMMA OF JOHN HAUGHTON STEELE. By Joseph Darlington, S.J. Dublin : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1933. 2s. 6d.

In these two books we get the story of two conversions to the Catholic Faith of very remarkable character, both in personality and mode. Dr. Orchard was one of the chief leaders of English Nonconformity, and Mr. Steele was domestic chaplain to the Earl of Erne and incumbent of Trinity Church, which stands in that Earl's demesne, by birth and education a solid Irish Protestant. Both, as it were, worked themselves into the Catholic Church unaided. Their contacts with Catholics before their conversion were almost as slight as those of Newman. Neither had any experience, direct or indirect, of a Catholic atmosphere ; each of them blazed a lone trail to Rome. In Mr. Steele's case, as we see in Father Darlington's touching memoir, the study of history put him on the horns of a dilemma, and then things happened in which Catholics can readily see the finger of God. *Laqueus contritus est.*

Dr. Orchard entitles his religious autobiography *From Faith to Faith.* His theme is his own spiritual development from a crisis of conversion in the Evangelical sense of the word to the full Catholic Faith. It is a very interesting document for the psychologist ; for it shows the whole working of the inner man, the slow steady growth of the Divine seed, rather than a mere history of the development of his opinions, such as we chiefly get in Newman's *Apologia.* Both as Catholics were autodidacts, but in Newman's case the natural man was always recalcitrant. That is the mystery of Newman, the fight to the very end of his life between the " animalis homo," naturally Protestant, and his deep spiritual unconscious self, which the Hound of Heaven had seized, perhaps at that first visit to Rome, and would not let go. Newman's conversion and his perseverance are inexplicable on any naturalist hypothesis. But we do not find the dualism in Dr. Orchard ; the seed that was sown grew steadily and regularly. It was an astonishing development, but, as he points out, quite regular. *Fructus gratiae dare et conservare digneris, Te Rogamus Domine.*

JOHN HOWLEY.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE. By Stephen Graham. London: Ernest Benn. 1932. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Graham has written much that is valuable on various aspects of Russian life and history, so that he may fairly claim to be accounted an authoritative writer on that interesting and puzzling country. His *Life of Peter the Great* was generally received as a valuable study of the life and times of that great architect—perhaps the greatest—of Imperial Russia. We doubt if his Life of Peter's predecessor can be claimed to be of equal value as history. This opinion may be supported by the fact that Peter's time is much better known than is Ivan's; the sources available for the biographer are much more plentiful, and it is possible for the biographical edifice to be reared on a substructure of sound historical fact.

Mr. Graham has managed to put together some 300 pages concerning Ivan's life and achievements, but one is struck by the general absence from his pages of references to sources and authorities. His preface discusses the differences between biography and history, and indicates his preference for what he terms psychological biography. But one may fairly say that psychological insight cannot make up for the lack of historical evidence, and the student is entitled to demand that evidence should be cited in the text where the psychological interpretation is given.

At any rate Ivan seems to have well merited his cognomen. The story of his abominable deeds as given in Mr. Graham's pages makes very unpleasant reading. He was a human tiger if ever man was, and his services in promoting Russian expansion cannot be held to be a counterpoise to his brutalities. No doubt his savageries were not without their parallel elsewhere than in Russia, but they seem to be characteristic not so much of the moral standards of his age as inherent in the Russian character and temperament, wherein the strain of the Tartar is very little beneath the surface; and this is true of Russia to a much later period than the age of Ivan, and perhaps it may explain much that has horrified mankind in recent Russian history.

There is one historical fact in connection with Ivan which Mr. Graham strangely ignores, and which might be adduced to show his importance in the public life of the Europe of his day—that is the Papal mission headed by one of the most remarkable men of the period, the Jesuit Antony Possevin, which visited Ivan in 1580 to negotiate a peace between Russia and Poland and unite the forces of Christendom in an attack on the Turks.

The opportunity was taken advantage of to discuss the possibility of union between the Roman and Greek Churches. The immediate purpose of the mission, peace between Russia and Poland, was realised. Nothing occurred as the result of the Jesuit's intervention as regards the other issues. But Possevin's accounts of his experiences would possibly serve to give Mr. Graham the evidential basis for his interpretation that it seems to lack. At any rate the bibliographical notes which Mr. Graham appends to his volume would be more convincing, did they contain a reference to one of the ablest figures in European diplomacy of that age, and one too who was specially skilled in judging the great figures in the public life of the Europe of his day. W. J. W.

EDWARD HINCKS. A Selection from his Correspondence, with a Memoir. By E. F. Davidson, M.A. London : Oxford University Press. 1933. 20*s.* net.

IT is surprising how little is known, even by educated people here and abroad, of an Irishman whose contributions to modern learning have given Ireland an honoured place in the pursuit of some of the most obscure and difficult sciences. Edward Hincks (1792-1866), D.D. of Trinity College and Rector of Killyleagh in Co. Down, was the grandson of an Englishman who migrated from Chester to Dublin in 1765. Living in a remote rectory, far from libraries and monuments, without facilities for travel or resources for publication, he yet succeeded by his extraordinary abilities in reaching the front rank among the early decipherers and interpreters both of ancient Egyptian and of the ancient Mesopotamian languages. In this double achievement he was really unique, for other scholars were content with being specialists in one or other sphere, and no other came anywhere near reaching the eminence of Hincks in both.

Until the publication of the present memoir the only sources from which the general public could gain information about this very remarkable man were brief articles hidden in obscure periodicals. The author of this work is Hincks's grandson, and has made extensive use of the voluminous correspondence still possessed by his descendants, as well as of a much briefer diary. About a quarter of the book is biographical ; the remainder is devoted to a selection, mainly from letters addressed to Hincks by other scholars and relating to his work, first on Egyptology, and second on what is called by the nowadays quaint-sounding name " Cuneatics." The onesided nature of the correspondence, as very few of Hincks's own letters, of which he

chanced to keep copies, are given, makes the book a little difficult to follow, even perhaps by those more expert in the subjects with which it deals. It is rather a pity that no bibliography of his works is attached, and that no authority was asked to give some account, intelligible to the general reader, of his progress in research and the precise value of his discoveries. This lack is made the more impressive by reason of the fact that Hincks, partly by disposition and partly from his remote situation, was not a little touchy about his priority in discovery over others. A large part of the book, especially in the chapters devoted to cuneiform, is taken up with references by his correspondents, sometimes sympathetic and sometimes deprecatory, to his disputes with other great pioneers, notably Rawlinson and Oppert. With the former his feud seems to have been bitter enough ; with the latter it was apparently impossible to quarrel, and his letters to Hincks, written in very makeshift English in defence of his own extravagant claims, are among the most amusing in the book.

Hincks seems to have an indisputable right to the honour of two great discoveries : the " Semitic," that is to say consonantal character of hieroglyphic writing, and the syllabic character of cuneiform. He has great claims also to at least a share in other discoveries of almost equal importance : the polyphony of Assyrian signs and the ideographic character of the earliest cuneiform, with the further far-reaching inference that this earliest cuneiform was used not for a Semitic language, but for one of a totally different type, which Hincks called " Scythic," and Oppert first designated as Turanian, and afterwards by its now well-known name, Sumerian. These discoveries in themselves, all of capital importance for the growth of the scientific studies they helped to create, are enough to place Hincks in the same category as Champollion, Grotefend, and Rawlinson. Although neglected by his own College and rather shabbily treated by the British Museum, Hincks received high honour from abroad, including the Prussian Order " pour le Mérite," and his bust was placed among those of the pioneers of Egyptology in the Cairo Museum in 1906. It is interesting to note that one of his correspondents on this science was Le Page Renouf, a professor for a few years in the Catholic University, and that one of his most important articles appeared in the pages of *Atlantis* for 1862. The present work, which in spite of the shortcomings noted above, is of great value and interest, has been made possible by grants from the Royal Irish Academy and from Trinity College.

M. T.

ERNEST PSICHARI, MON FRERE. Paris: Plon. 1933. Pp. 236. Frs. 12.

EIGHTEEN years after the death of Ernest Psichari on the battlefield, his sister, Henriette, has written an intimate account of the gifted young soldier and author as he was known to his own family. To the literary world of France, Psichari was, first and foremost, the "petit-fils de Renan," and the contrast has been drawn, almost *ad nauseam*, between the grandfather who renounced and the grandson who recovered the Catholic faith. The Psichari family—who, deeply devoted as they remained to Ernest throughout his self-chosen career, did not, any of them, follow him in his spiritual pilgrimage—have obviously wished to clear up various incorrect impressions that seem to have arisen concerning his youth and to place on record all that need be known of his private life. And this task Henriette Psichari has achieved with unusual tact and skill, not allowing her brother's brilliant qualities to overshadow his youthful weaknesses and thereby bringing into even higher relief the singular grace of his conversion. That conversion has been related already in a slim volume by his friend, Henri Massis, and was largely revealed by himself in that masterpiece of spiritual autobiography, the "Voyage du Centurion."

What his sister brings out is both the intensity of the intellectual life in which Ernest was reared and the high moral principles with which his mother indoctrinated him. To all appearances no intellectual youth could have had a more congenial home. Nevertheless his sister admits that from adolescence onwards Ernest was tormented by a craving after something lacking from his life, by a growing desolation of spirit that brought him once to the verge of suicide, and by a feverish endeavour to fill the void with every form of excitement and experience. His first step upwards in the spiritual life was his sudden determination, at the age of twenty, to do his year's military service, from which he could have been exempt, a resolve inspired by the conviction that a life of rule and discipline was essential to his nature. There ensued his years as a non-commissioned officer in Morocco, his months at the military college at Versailles (1909), to be followed by three years as a sub-lieutenant in command of a troop of Moorish soldiers in the wildest parts of French Africa, the years described in the "Voyage du Centurion." It was the vast solitudes of the Sahara desert that brought Psichari face to face with God, while in the midst of a Moslem population he

learned that to be French was also to be Christian and that the military crusading spirit formed a permanent element in the French character. Indeed he came to be deeply penetrated with what Péguy has termed the " mystique " of military life.

In spite of the intensity of his faith from 1912 onwards, Psichari, his sister reveals sadly, remained to the end something of an *âme tourmentée*, which perhaps accounts for the delays imposed by Père Clérissac before permitting him to try his Dominican vocation. The outbreak of war cut short all his aspirations, and within a fortnight Ernest lay dead by his guns on a tragic day of defeat for France in the retreat from Charleroi. His loss for literature was even more poignant than that of his friend Péguy a few weeks later on the plains of the Marne, for Psichari still stood on the threshold of his career. V. M. C.

Celtica

DICTIONARY OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE. Based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials. General Editor Osborn Bergin. Fasciculus II: E, ed. Maud Joynt and Eleanor Knott. Published for the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin: Hodges and Figgis; London: Williams and Norgate. 1932. 15s.

THE most important event in Irish studies during the year has been the appearance of the second fasciculus of the Dictionary, comprising the whole of the letter E. The names on the cover are a guarantee of good workmanship. No other group of scholars could have done the work so well. Many of the articles show the great difficulty of Irish lexicography and the critical learning which it requires. Incompetent editors and lexicographers invent ghost-words and wrong forms, and the makers of this dictionary have often to verify a reading or emend a text. Many quotations must be re-edited before being entered, and the article sometimes gives readings from various MSS. Moreover, many words have defied interpretation, and we are given the examples with a query. The articles *ecrus*, *ed*, *enech* are samples of the difficulty of the work and of the careful scholarship of the editors.

There is a certain lack of precision with regard to the scope of the Dictionary. According to the title it is based largely on Old and Middle Irish materials. The formula might be less vague. The Ogham inscriptions are not included, so that we may say that it begins with the written tradition, but the inferior limit is certainly well within the Modern Irish period. The opinion of scholars has changed in the last twenty years with

regard to the classification of Middle and Modern Irish, and the accepted view now is that the modern period begins approximately with the fourteenth century,[1] and includes the strict bardic poetry, the language of which is codified in the grammatical tracts which have been a source of much profit to this fasciculus. But among the texts which seem to have been freely excerpted are some which date from the late seventeenth century, O'Dowley, Ó Bruadair and Bedell, not to mention MacAingil and Keating who are a little earlier. It may be said, then, that the period covered is from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries inclusive; but we are still in some uncertainty as to the scope of the work, for it is not confined to printed texts. References are frequently made to MSS, but it is not clear where the line has been drawn. It is hardly credible that all the available vellum MSS have been excerpted, nor even all the vellums in the Dublin collections. Eugene Curry must be re-born before a task of that magnitude be undertaken. It would be useful to have a clear statement of the sources which have been drawn upon. Apparently the collections for the modern period are not exhaustive, for by no means all the seventeenth century authors are quoted. That so much has been done is altogether to the credit of the editors.

Critics of the Dictionary will not find much to question so far as the accuracy of its information is concerned. Col. 6. 47, it is doubtful whether *eat* is disyllabic in the passage referred to, see ZCP 17, 339. Col. 44, 61 for *ra* read *na*, 55. 34, read *ad-fédem*. Col. 121. 31, *2 emnaid* is a *vox nihili*. Dr. Binchy (orally) supplies an emendation which is certain: leg. *ém anaidh* glossing *imana* of the lemma. The manner in which the material is presented leaves more room for discussion.

References to texts which have been edited are given rather haphazard, sometimes to the MS, sometimes to the printed edition, sometimes in such a way as to risk misunderstanding. From the many simple references to LL, YBL and BB, one at first gets the impression that the sources are inedited, for in other cases reference is made to the printed text as well. It is certainly preferable when possible to include a reference to the edition, which is the source most commonly available. But the editors have not chosen any regular procedure: col. 18. 44, YBL 317 a 21 is printed RC 23, 420. 18; col. 55. 48, LL 299 b 38, RC 13, 52. 12 and SG 369, 30; col. 57. 2, LL 298 a 42, RC 13, 48. 8; col. 57. 3, LL 264 b 30, Mesca Ulad, 20. 1, etc., etc. *Táin Bó Fraích* was edited by O'Beirne Crowe, RIA Ir. MSS. Ser. I i, 136 f., and the

[1] See E. Knott, TDI lxv. n. 1, and cp. Ó Cathâin, ZCP 19, 1 f.

reference is so given at col. 163. 42 ; but other quotations are merely from the MS, col. 73. 30, 47 ; 74. 2 ; 126. 9, 17 ; 250. 40 ; while at 152. 59, 176. 12 there is risk of confusion with the Egerton version printed ZCP 4, 32 f., and the Edinburgh version printed RC 24, 143 f. Similarly at col. 51. 43 the sign = connects two different recensions while inf. 51 it connects MS and printed text. And there are other instances. But I have not detected a single wrong reference amongst those which I have controlled. So high a degree of accuracy, where thousands of references have to be carried from slips through successive proofs, is vitally necessary, but it is none the less a great performance.

Perhaps the greatest problem of Irish lexicography is the normalisation of the spelling. Meyer, in the Contributions, made no attempt to solve it, and the new fasciculus is in this respect disappointing. Here, as in Meyer, you may have to look in two or three places in order to find a word. We find *éccland, éccnesta, éccosc* but *écaid, éclind, écmacht, écmailt ; etrág, étromm* but *ettae* (where the single example is *étae !*) : again, *éicne, éicen, é(i)mechas, Eimer* but *émech, emid, emilt, enech* without the vowel-glide. And in none of these cases is there a cross-reference. Cross-reference is out of the question except for groups of words, but I have quite failed to discover any principle of arrangement. The difficulty arises from the fact that one has to deal with a period of a thousand years during which there was never a fixed convention of spelling. There is a further difficulty. We find *ecna, ecnaid* and *ecnaide, ecnaidech*, but all the examples of the last two words are Modern Irish and spelt *eagnaidhe, eagnaidheach* respectively, so that the spelling of the lemma in each case probably never occurs. In this connection it may be observed that it is only rarely attempted to date words or to mark them as confined to the modern period. In many cases it would be difficult to do so, but these two words look like modern formations. It might be worth while in such cases to give the modern forms their ordinary spelling, and distinguish them by a change of type or an asterisk, as occurring only in modern texts. The editors appear not to have made up their minds about spelling. It does not matter whether you print *éc-* or *écc-*, *em-* or *eim-*, so long as a system is adopted and the rules are printed somewhere in the book as an instruction to readers.

A more serious question is the treatment of proper names, because it affects the completeness of the work. In a note on the cover it is stated that some changes of method have been introduced and proper names largely omitted. It has been

pointed out that there is an apparent absence of method in the references to sources and in the spelling : the treatment of proper names is also haphazard.[1] But it is a serious defect, especially in an Irish dictionary, that any of these words should be omitted. It is well known that Irish place-names are a constant trouble, and here was the opportunity to give us authoritative spellings from stated sources. It is not an unknown occurrence that an obscure word in a text has been shown to be a proper name. Moreover, the history of Irish personal names is unwritten. The names in the early annals are not those of the sagas, and new names appear in the later period under Norse and Norman influence. The Dictionary could provide the material for this study with comparatively little additional cost of labour or space. Two interesting names, *Echaid* and *Eochu*, have recently been under discussion by MacNeill and Bergin (*Béaloideas* ii 115 and *Eriu* xi 140). They are confused in Middle Irish, and it is eminently a case which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily without full collections, but both these names are omitted from the Dictionary. It is a curious decision. The Latin *Thesaurus*, Liddell and Scott and Du Cange include proper names. Perhaps the N. E. D. has been taken as an example, and in this respect it is an unfortunate one. The omission of proper names in the N. E. D. is a defect and has led to absurdities. London is a lemma for London Pride, John for John Bull, Plymouth for Plymouth Brethren, and so on, while names as such are omitted. If the work were to be done again, there is little doubt that they would be included. But they are even more important to an Irish dictionary. One hopes, at least, that the Irish names will be collected, so that whenever an onomasticon is undertaken the collections will be available.

But apart from this question of proper names, the flaws which have been pointed out are on the surface and of no great account. The mass of material which has been collected, and the accuracy with which it is set down are reason enough for admiration and gratitude.

The new fasciculus is a considerable achievement, and makes one eager for more. The glorious literature towards which this dictionary will clear the way, as Professor Marstrander has put it, is still strangely ignored in Ireland. This is not an occasion to examine the reasons for such neglect, but one of them is the lack of grammars and dictionaries which would make easier the study of a very difficult language. M. D.

[1] See review by Marstrander, *Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap* v. 366.

A PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY OF SCOTTISH GAELIC. By Henry Cyril Dieckhoff, O.S.B. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston. 1932. Pp. xxxiv + 186. 10*s.* 6*d.*

In this important work Dom Dieckhoff gives about seven thousand Scottish Gaelic words, with their meanings and with a careful notation of their pronunciation as heard from the older inhabitants of the district of Glengarry in Inverness-shire. An Appendix to the book contains a useful list of Scottish personal and place names. In a valuable Introduction the author gives the most scientific account that has yet appeared of the pronunciation of Scottish Gaelic.

The late E. C. Quiggin, whose work on Donegal Irish is so much appreciated, was of opinion (as we learn from Prof. John Fraser) that the sound-system of Scottish Gaelic is "the most complicated in Europe." In some ways it is more conservative than Irish, but in other respects it has developed in a way of its own—as, for instance, in its long epenthetic vowel and in the new values which it has given to the historical *tenues* and *mediae*. Dom Dieckhoff is not concerned with the history of Scottish sounds nor with their relation to the sounds of Irish; but for the actual pronunciation of one of the Scottish dialects of to-day his book is invaluable. It makes us long to see the day when the sounds and vocabulary of the various living dialects of Irish will be treated in the same scientific fashion.

Our dictionaries, both Scottish and Irish, are crowded with obsolete words, and, what is much worse, most of them include a good sprinkling of words which never were on sea or land. It is one of the merits of Dom Dieckhoff's work that it confines itself in general to genuine words handed down in the living traditional speech. Exceptions to this rule seem, as far as an outsider can judge, to be very few. Under *co-shinteachan*, 'parallelogram,' we are told that this word is "not in actual use, but pronounced and understood by competent native speakers"; and we may suspect that a few other compound words like *corp-snaidearachd*, 'anatomy,' *deich-slisneach*, 'a decagon,' and *iomatheangach*, 'polyglot,' are of the same artificial type. The book would gain in scientific value if all such book-words were rigidly excluded or at least distinguished in some way from the traditional vocabulary.

In the system of phonetic notation which he has constructed for his book Dom Dieckhoff employs, as he puts it, "plain symbols taken from the English alphabet," in the hope of making his notation more readily intelligible to "the average reader"; but

each of these symbols is explained scientifically in the introduction to the book, where also the corresponding notation of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association is given. Some readers, however, will, like the present writer, regret that the International Alphabet was not employed throughout. It is also, I think, a matter for regret that in the ordinary spelling of Scottish Gaelic words the author has, for no apparent reason, entirely discarded the use of length-marks. But these matters are of small importance, and do not lessen the value of Dom Dieckhoff's achievement nor our gratitude to him for his unselfish labours.

The study of Scottish, which is simply a dialect of our own language, has been strangely neglected in Ireland. Even in our Universities, in which it might be expected to occupy a place of honour, it is treated with something like contempt. We have a great deal to learn from a study of the language and literature of our Scottish kinsmen, and it is sincerely to be hoped that in future the two countries will cultivate a closer acquaintance with each other, so far as their common Gaelic is concerned. For the serious study of Scottish Gaelic Dom Dieckhoff's book will be indispensable to Irish students. T. O'R.

Economics

THE THEORY OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By A. C. Pigou. London: Macmillan. 1933. 15*s.* net.

WHILE the matter contained in Professor Pigou's latest work is, as usual, excellent, the manner in which it is presented is open to severe objection. Whole pages of mathematical formulae do not provide agreeable reading even for the expert economist, while the general reader, if he were so rash as to seek some enlightenment on the pressing problem of unemployment from this volume, would quickly abandon the quest in despair, if not disgust. The impression created, at a time like the present, by the publication of books of such a degree of aloofness and obscurity is unfortunate, as many people are led to the conclusion that economic science has little advice to offer on the solution of the pressing problems of the day. The confidence of the public in the medical profession is not enhanced because prescriptions continue to be written in Latin.

The repellent method of presentation is particularly regrettable in the case of the present book for the very reason that the matter is so original and valuable. Emphasis is laid on the non-monetary factors affecting the demand for labour, because, in the author's

opinion, the recent period of monetary disorganization has tempted economists to concentrate unduly on the monetary aspects of the problem. The influences determining the elasticity of the real demand for labour and the non-monetary and monetary factors affecting the level and variations in that demand are fully discussed. All this part of the book is preliminary to the last part, where the causation of unemployment and its fluctuations is directly attacked. Great importance is attached to the relevance of wage policy. In Great Britain at the present time the wage policy of the trade unions and the State is not one designed to produce zero unemployment but to maintain certain accepted standards of comfort. The existence of sheltered industries, the system of collective bargaining, the widespread provision of unemployment relief and the fixing of minimum wages render possible the pursuit of such a policy. Clearly Professor Pigou shares the unpopular, but probably correct, view that some reduction in the wage level is necessary if unemployment in Great Britain is to be substantially reduced.

The reasoning of this book is much too close to permit of its being summarized. It is sufficient to say that it is extremely elegant and cannot be neglected by any student of advanced economic theory. There are admirable chapters on monetary problems, which are of interest apart from their bearing on unemployment, in which the new conception of a ' standard ' monetary system to facilitate analysis is introduced. The distinction between the changes in the demand for labour caused by accomplished changes in general price movements and by the process and the expectation of such changes is characteristic of the author, as is also the discussion on the objective and subjective costs of unemployment. The bush is certainly teeming with good fruit, well worth picking, but painful to pick because the thorns are terrible. G. O'B.

THE ECONOMICS OF IMPERFECT COMPETITION. By Joan Robinson. London : Macmillan. 1933. 18*s*. net.

Prior to the publication of this book it was possible to state that no serious contribution to economics had been made by a woman. That statement is no longer true. Mrs. Robinson is to be congratulated on a work of great originality—and, it must be added, of great difficulty. The reader is warned at the outset that he will find the book " a mountainous and inhospitable territory," and that the " level of abstraction is distressingly high." The author claims to be no more than the

maker of tools for others to use, but she warns the reader who is interested in results immediately applicable to the real world that he will find the tools of very little use—" the knives of bone and the hammers of wood, only capable of cutting paper and driving pins into cardboard." This is certainly no book for the general reader, while the student of economics will find it very hard to peruse and to understand. It exhibits to an extreme degree the tendency of the Cambridge economists to abstract from the conditions of real life and to treat economics as a purely academic exercise.

Mrs. Robinson's thesis is that the theory of value should be approached on the assumption of monopolist sellers and buyers. The classical economists start from the assumption of perfect competition and treat monopoly as an abnormal and exceptional case. This treatment of the subject is criticised, firstly because conditions of either perfect competition or perfect monopoly are very rare in practice, and secondly because the priority of competition for the purpose of analysis leads students to the mistaken inference that competition is the normal condition in real life. It is easy to show that in fact perfect competition is very seldom to be found, and that most modern business is conducted in conditions of imperfect competition. On the other hand conditions of monopoly are universal in the sense that every individual producer has the monopoly of his own output, and it is possible to construct a theory of value on the assumption that each individual will ceaselessly attempt to maximise his gain in the particular situation in which he finds himself. One important fact in that situation may be the existence of other producers of the same commodity, which gives rise to the phenomenon of competition which may be imperfect or perfect. In all cases the criterion of success will be the equation of marginal gains with marginal cost, and monopoly and competitive output differ simply because these quantities may be different for the whole group and for separate individuals.

The study of demand is made on the assumption of a single buyer, which is relaxed by the admission of conditions of competition between buyers. The single buyer is described as a monopsonist, and his operations as monopsony. The part of the book which deals with buying is mainly devoted to the principles of purchasing, not commodities, but productive instruments and services, or in other words, it gives the application of the analysis of value to the problem of the prices of the factors of production. The final chapter discusses the effect on economic

welfare of the universal replacement of competition by monopoly. The conclusion is reached that any gain in technical improvement that might be realised as a result of the change would probably be too dearly bought, as the price would include increased exploitation of labour, a more unequal distribution of wealth, an export of capital, and a growing amount of unemployment.

G. O'B.

SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE EAST. By Violet Conolly. London : Oxford University Press. 1933. 6*s.* 6*d.*

This scholarly volume in a difficult and important field of economic research is a welcome addition to the meagre and all too slowly growing body of scientific work produced by graduates of the National University. A guarantee of its solid scientific value is given by the fact of its publication under the auspices of one of the three or four Institutes of International Studies, that of Geneva, where it was awarded the graduate diploma. The subject matter of Miss Conolly's study might at first sight seem to have little more than an academic interest without much importance for the practical world. But, as she justly points out, this would be a short-sighted and superficial view. The Soviet experiment, if at this stage of its success we can still call it an experiment, is not likely to find for many a year a very favourable atmosphere in Western Europe or America for its extension. In the East, on the contrary, many circumstances and conditions hold out promises of a considerable measure of tolerance and even welcome to the social and economic ideas of Bolshevik Russia. A communistic Asia from Istanbul to Seoul may seem a wild dream, a nightmare, but our generation has seen quite a number of wild dreams and a few nightmares slowly or suddenly grow into very solid realities.

The contents of Miss Conolly's seven chapters are too technical and their texture too closely-woven for a reviewer to be able to make any adequate summary. The first chapter and the last are able surveys of the whole matter treated : the former dealing with the evolution of the Soviet economic policy in the East, the latter with its concrete results and achievements. The other five chapters deal with the Soviet economic relations with Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Tana Tuva and Sin Kiang. There is ample statistical matter provided and, as far as a non-specialist can judge, the most reliable sources in Russian, German, French and English have been conscientiously and industriously raided for the raw material which has been skilfully moulded into a

well-knit, unified whole. The author's judgments and conclusion strike one as being sound, made after a careful consideration of many facts and possibilities. Miss Conolly's competence in this field of economic investigation is undoubted : her knowledge of Russian economics is remarkable and, as her three brilliant and voluminous reports just issued by the Royal Institute for the Study of International Affairs conclusively show, she has all the qualifications for producing a standard work on this whole complicated question. Her report on the Economic Consequences of Recent Events in Manchuria, written before the Lytton Report was drafted, is a striking example of the accuracy of her information and her balanced judgment. It is to be hoped that she will pursue her investigations in this field, investigations likely to be more fruitful for the real good of humanity than hysterical condemnation or ostrich-like ignoring of the most important economic movement of modern times. But why must our best scholars be always snatched up by foreign universities and institutes of learning ? E. J. C.

Education

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE RATIO STUDIORUM. Edited by E. A. FitzPatrick, Dean, Graduate School, Marquette University. New York and London : McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1933. Pp.286. 12*s*. net.

WITH Mary Helen Mayer and A. R. Ball as translators, Dean FitzPatrick has made in this compact volume a very useful contribution to the study of Catholic Education, on modern lines, in Training Centres for Teachers. Some 40 pages contain the Editor's Introduction, at the close of which promise is made of a fuller monograph on " St. Ignatius and Education." The translations are presented in two main sections. That of the Fourth Part of the Ignatian Constitutions occupies about 70 pages, while the *Ratio* in its final form (1599) covers nearly double that space. An Appendix of 15 pages presents Longridge's Analysis of the Spiritual Exercises, as the basis for that process of character-formation which is implicit rather than formally set forth in the Code of Classwork aimed at from 1584 to 1599. The translations are hence the substantive part of this new volume of the useful McGraw-Hill Series, a previous issue of which, on President Jefferson's work as an Educational Organiser and Commentator, has already been favourably noticed in these pages. The versions are by Miss Mayer and Mr. Ball : they achieve a remarkable unison of style—appropriate, with a certain old-world graceful stateliness, to the original text and its environment. The con-

nection asserted between the *Exercises* and the *Ratio* will, it is to be hoped, be a special topic in Dr. FitzPatrick's further work, even if it presents certain difficulties as to the chronology of these documents and the position of St. Ignatius concerning Education at the time when the *Exercises* were composed. In the light of certain facts stated in recent volumes by Henri Brémond, it will be very interesting if definite connections can be shown to have existed between the *Exercises* themselves and the spiritual direction and training of lay students in the Colleges of the Jesuit Order from 1545 to 1600. T. C.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Professor R. W. Rich, University College, Hull. Cambridge University Press. 1933. Pp. 286. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This survey, made by the Professor of Education at Hull, is in all its sections elaborate, methodical, earnest, and even solemn. All the same, it does not escape being a depressing record. It takes up its tale when popular education was in England at an extremely low level both as to teachers and as to learners, a level lower than that in the elementary school life of Evangelical Germany and Calvinist Switzerland at the same period. It elects to conclude in 1900, which is not a valid concluding point at all, and which thus excludes the advances made since Balfour's Act, 1902, the measure that remade English popular education, and provides in principle for the recapture of the mediaeval universities by those poor to whom they entirely belong.

Therein, perhaps, lies the disadvantage of the plan adopted by Professor Rich. His text, as the headings of sections show, is dominated by time divisions: hence it rather savours of the historical introductions prepared by zealous secretaries for the Blue Book Reports of English Commissions of Inquiry. Were it set against the true background, the actual conditions of education as available for the people of England, its true meaning would have leapt into view with real effect. From 1790 to 1850 was the epoch when Hannah More, reformer, firmly denied that any children of the people of England should be taught writing; when Dr. Andrew Bell worded his earlier announcements to the same effect, only to be driven from them by the rival plans of the Quaker-soldier, Joseph Lancaster. The whole situation could have been tersely stated from the *Lives*, as Anglican Parsons, of Hook (1846), Charles Kingsley (1845 and 1869), F. D. Maurice (1842). What they tell of Leeds, Eversley, Winchester, and of

England generally would be even better evidence than that available from English statesmen such as Brougham and Graham.

The whole story of English Primary Training Colleges is a dreary one, since they had always to deal with the uneducated aspirants, and since they thus (and even still, as in France) tend to live on their own insufficiencies and to pride themselves on being a separate caste. Hence their curious attitudes towards discipline, including professional procedure, on which Dr. Rich has points (p. 209) that almost rival the primness of Chicago in this 20th century.

To this account of Primary Training Colleges Professor Rich has added a section, of much practical use, on Secondary Training. It would have been better to make a frank admission of the folly of putting such utter failures as Quick and Browning were in Secondary Schools, to lead a Training Movement at Cambridge. The " Public Schools' Headmasters had some colour of excuse for denying the movement anything beyond lip-service " (p. 261, etc.). Professor Rich gives some, but still distinctly inadequate, recognition of the great work done by Notre Dame, Liverpool, for both Primary and Secondary Training. The Religious Training College is even still the main element in professional progress, as recorded in this worthy volume. T. C.

History

THE O'DWYERS OF KILNAMANAGH. The History of an Irish Sept. By Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. With Map. London : Murray. 1933. Pp. 365. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A REVIEW of this most effective and thoroughly readable survey of the old stock that dwelt and dwells between Cappagh White to the east, and Clonoulty with Drombane to the west of the territory of Kilnamanagh, comes late, in a quarterly, after the surprises and alarms signalled in long press articles available weeks ago in London and Dublin, Chicago and Cork. There was considerable surprise, strikingly expressed at times, that such a writer could have written such a book ; and London reviewers more than one were alarmed at the strong way that whole chapters were set forth. Plain comment about the Cromwellian policy of extirpation could have been condoned. But there was a different feeling when the reviewer found a corresponding directness of phrase applied to transactions so near as the Hawarden clearances (1830-1850) and, latest of all, the decisive action fought at Ballycohey in 1868. These are some of the most striking factors in

the record of one Irish clan, or sept, or tribe—let all three words be used in their full traditional sense and no other, for all the dissolving views exhibited by certain recent investigators. But they are not by any means all that exhibit the real constructive values of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's pages.

That value lies in the fact that here we have an excellent example of what one active man of affairs can do to elucidate the history of one group of families, for one section of an Irish county. The writer is not a professional historian: he completed an otherwise brilliant school and university career before any college or school essayed to teach Irish. Yet by vigorous use—so vigorous and unceremonious at times that it betrays the methods of the masterful man—of published and unpublished materials, a real and permanent service has been rendered to local or rather regional history for Ireland. The 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries have taken definite shape, as affecting one determinate group on one upland and lowland tract. The people are shown not only at home, but in Spain, Italy, Austria, no less than in France. It is a pleasure, for instance, to see Oman's recent and most emphatic testimony adduced as to the great services rendered by Ireland to the Spanish people during their War of Independence (1808-1814). When many noble families of that Catholic land attorned to the foreign intruder, the Irish leaders of men in Spain held firm and so powerfully helped to save their adopted country.

Even more valuable is the good beginning made, in this most interesting record, of giving force to the fact that henceforth the realities of history must be concerned with the entire body of workers on the land. They are the real people; theirs is the real history. What a fine element in their story is the fact—just alluded to by Sir Michael O'Dwyer—that the Montalt Mansion at Dundrum is now the place of training towards work on the land and in garden and byre for the daughters of Tipperary farmers. A fine reversal, that, of the terrible episodes attached to the names of Maude, Hawarden. And the full account of Ballycohey may yet come; but it will not supersede this most welcome volume. T. C.

A HISTORY OF THE GREEK WORLD. From 323 to 146 B.C. By M. Cary. London: Methuen. 1932. 15s. net.

As recently as 1923 the late Professor Bury could still complain that the habit of treating the Hellenistic Age as if it were no more than a wayside inn on the road from Athens to Rome was not yet obsolete. A great change has since taken place—indeed it had

begun long before—and the publication of this comprehensive and informative manual as the first of a new historical series should make the serious study of this most interesting period, for its own sake, a component part of liberal education. Dr. Cary's book must naturally stand comparison with Mr. Tarn's *Hellenistic Age*, now in its second edition, and with the magistral chapters of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. It may be said at once that it is a worthy companion to both.

Whereas Mr. Tarn only devotes a brief forty pages to historical narrative and expends most of his space on social, economic, literary and scientific description, Dr. Cary has not shrunk from the rather forbidding task of conducting his readers through the complicated, if often badly understood, tangle of political and military events between the death of Alexander and the Roman conquest. In doing so he has adopted a peculiar but justifiable method. Down to the invasion of the Galatians his story is a unity. From that point on he breaks it up into a series of chapters on the various regions of the Hellenistic world, beginning with the Indian frontier and the Eastern edges of the Seleucid Empire. How difficult his task has been and how unsatisfactory the chronological and other material, is shown by the fact that he has had to devote no less than sixteen Appendices to special points. A further illustration of the difficulties has been provided by an American work on the Archons of Athens, published since Dr. Cary wrote, which has given apparently very cogent reasons for altering, among other matters, the accepted dates for the Chremonidean War and the Battle of Sellasia.

The second half of Dr. Cary's book consists of a series of excellent chapters on Hellenistic war-craft, government, city-life and economics, art, literature, science, philosophy, and religion. Dr. Cary writes with great clarity and shows abundant proof of wide reading as well as of sound judgment. His general view of the period is, as usual nowadays, comparatively favourable, though in the reviewer's judgment at least he is over-lenient to the Romans. He brings excellently to the foreground the fact that while the framework of the Hellenistic world was Macedonian, the Greek race itself played a preponderant part in the administration of the new kingdoms and was by no means in a "degenerate" state. His book is particularly good on the outer edges of the Hellenistic world, regarding which he has himself previously done valuable work. In future, students of Greek history will be certain to include among their most indispensable aids this remarkably brief, informative, and reliable handbook. M. T.

Missiology

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES. By Georges Goyau. London : Sands. 1932. 5s.

L'EGLISE EN MARCHE. Par Georges Goyau. 3 vols. Paris : Editions Spes. 1928-31. 10 and 12 francs.

LES PRETRES DES MISSIONS ETRANGERES. Par Georges Goyau. Paris : Grasset. 1932. 15 fr.

L'OEUVRE CIVILISATRICE ET SCIENTIFIQUE DES MISSIONNAIRES CATHOLIQUES DANS LES COLONIES FRANCAISES. Par Paul Lesourd. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1931. 50 fr.

LE REPERTOIRE AFRICAIN. Par Henry Dubois, S.J. Rome : Sodalité de S. Pierre Claver. 1932. 8s.

THE recent French Colonial Exhibition turned the minds of many thoughtful Frenchmen to the part which has been played by French Catholic missionaries in the history of France's colonial expansion. M. Georges Goyau has made himself the spokesman in France of thousands of French priests, brothers and nuns, who are labouring in so many obscure regions of the earth for the propagation of the Catholic faith, and who are indirectly doing much for the prestige of French civilisation and French traditions abroad. M. Goyau has been for some years past the official Professor of the History of Missions in the Institut Catholique de Paris, and the volumes which stand first on our list are the fruit of his lectures at the Institut. The most generally useful and interesting will be no doubt the volume which Messrs. Sands have just published in an English translation. Very clear and very methodical, M. Goyau's narrative begins with the first centuries of the Church's history, and traces the steady growth of the missionary idea throughout the centuries. It is no more than the slightest sketch, but M. Goyau has a sense of proportion as well as a fine literary style, and his book makes pleasant reading. An adequate tribute is here paid to the work of Pope Gregory XVI, whom M. Goyau rightly names the great missionary Pope of the nineteenth century ; and the story is carried on to our own days. A book in fact which will be invaluable to any who have to give talks on missionary subjects, or who wish to have a handy guide to the complicated history of Catholic missions.

M. Goyau's three volumes entitled *L'Eglise en Marche* contain a series of short studies on little known episodes in missionary history. Sometimes it is an outstanding personality, whose interest in the Missions has been overlooked : Saint Louis, the

Emperor Louis the Pious, Bossuet, Louis Veuillot are examples. Sometimes it is an aspect of missionary work: medieval cartography, for example, or woman's role in missionary history, or the Church's role in colonization. And sometimes it is a valuable contribution to the biography of some well-known missionary, such as Father Damien or Mother Catharine of Saint Augustine. One such contribution is contained in a separate volume: M. Goyau's most welcome history of the Fathers of *Les Missions Etrangères*—a work of French zeal which goes back to the days of *le grand siècle.*

More directly connected with the French Colonial Exhibition is the handsome commemorative volume edited by M. Lesourd, with a preface by M. Gabriel Hanotaux. The volume has been produced under the auspices of the general committee of the Exhibition, and is frankly a work of *réclame.* But it is full of useful information for all students of missionary history, and the illustrations are alone enough to make the volume welcome in any library. The work is divided into two parts: *L'Oeuvre civilisatrice* and *l'oeuvre scientifique.* French missionaries have a wonderful record in both spheres of work, and there is information here for specialists in many branches. To take agriculture alone; or travel and exploration; or education; or printing; or cartography; or ethnography; or medicine: it is amazing to learn what a succession of zealous, persevering workers have achieved for the most part within the past hundred years. And the Society of St. Peter Claver have added a useful Appendix to this splendid volume by gathering into a more modest volume a mass of information about African Missions in particular. Father Dubois has spent most of his life in Africa, and students could have no more trustworthy guide. The book is packed with accurate information; there is an abundance of statistics, and two excellent maps. P. D.

CATHOLIC MISSION THEORY. By Joseph Schmidlin, D.D. A Translation. Techny: Mission Press. 1931. $5.

DR. SCHMIDLIN is a well-known authority on missionary problems in Germany, where he is Professor of Missiology at the University of Münster. This translation of his *Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss* is a welcome addition to missionary literature in the English language. The volume is a somewhat massive survey of the missionary problem as a whole. There is a general introduction with sections on the history, literature and sources of Mission Theory—our English (or American) equivalent of the

German *Missiologie*. The theology of the Church's missionary vocation is then considered, and proved from the Scriptures and Tradition. The next section is on the "Mission Subject"—with separate chapters on the various missionary societies, the training of missionaries, etc. There follows a section on the "Mission Object"—with chapters on the choice of territory and the adaptation necessary in various surroundings. Then the aims of the Missions are discussed—personal conversion, christianisation of society, ecclesiastical organisation, native collaboration (including the problem of the native clergy and catechists). Finally there is a long section on missionary means, direct and indirect. The book ends with nearly twenty pages of bibliography.

P. D.

Political and Social Science

LA COMMUNAUTE DES PUISSANCES. Par Yves de la Brière, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1932. 36 frs.

THERE is peculiar interest at the present time in a work devoted to the principal problems of international life from the combined standpoints of history, social morality and christian philosophy. And it may be said at once that Father de la Brière's book is an admirably lucid exposition of the thorny questions that emerge in such a discussion. If he tends towards an optimism which one cannot always share, it is due to an enthusiasm for principles which, though frequently neglected, are vital to the future of the human race. "The venture is a noble one and the hope is great."

International relations have always been relatively chaotic. There has scarcely been at any time a universally recognised set of principles governing the relations between states, nor has there existed a tribunal to which nations could appeal. Hobbes, in a well-known passage, refers to the lawless, arbitrary and even bloodthirsty attitude of states, one to another, in favour of his theory of the State of Nature—*homo homini lupus*. At the best, as Father de la Brière suggests, states, if a community at all, have only been an inorganic community. And yet their common interests at all periods of history have compelled them at least to *aim* at some kind or degree of common action and to recognise, however sporadically, certain general principles of international morality. Their collectivity has remained up to the present anarchical; but since the Great War they have been endeavouring to construct something approaching to an organic community through the League of Nations.

An organic community may be said to have existed in the Catholic Europe of the Middle Ages. The western Roman Empire, indeed, had only a shadowy authority; but profound elements of unity existed in the unity of religious beliefs and of ecclesiastical obedience, in the existence of a universal language and a common intellectual culture, in the mingling of the spiritual and temporal powers, and above all in the unique position and prestige of the Church. The present work analyses the various institutions of the Middle Ages which promoted the work of international peace. But even at its best, as Father de la Brière points out, the medieval effort remained very imperfect—the causes of discord and strife were in many cases more potent than the magnificent institutions upholding peace and right. We must not exaggerate what the medieval world achieved, although it would be equally unwise to overlook the lesson which it teaches us—namely, that international unity, if difficult, is not impossible.

Modern Europe substituted for the vanished unity of the Middle Ages the political formula of the Balance of Power. This system broke down under the increasing pressure of national claims—the dogma of the right of peoples to dispose of their own political destinies. Father de la Brière examines critically the concept of nationality, an admirable example of "une fausse idée claire." None of the suggested criteria seems satisfactory—geographical separateness, racial division, religion, language, historical right. Politically the most adequate criterion seems to be "un vouloir-vivre collectif," a collective will in favour of national independence. He points out, in an excellent criticism of this principle, that it cannot be regarded as coercive, whether we view it historically, morally or juridically. It is a good guiding principle, but not a final or overmastering political criterion, and it is of interest to notice that the Council of the League of Nations refused to accept it in determining the problem of the political destiny of the Aaland Islands.

We pass on to the problems of the right of just war, the right of neutrality, and the custom of reprisals. All these problems are discussed with subtlety and erudition, but it is not possible to follow the discussion here. The problem of neutrality—of the right of passage for belligerent armies through neutral territories—is of special interest. The attitude of international law on this matter has exhibited a curious evolution. Earlier jurists were in favour, in the case of a just war, of the so-called *transitus innocuus*—a process, it must be admitted, practically impossible to define. The Hague Convention adopted the contrary position

in favour of the inviolability of the territory of neutral Powers. The Pact of the League of Nations admits of the passage of forces in the case of military measures against a State violating international right. States, it is to be feared, in the future as in the past, will adopt the methods which at the moment they regard as most favourable to their own interests. Their jurists, unhappy men, will search out such arguments as seem most favourable to the *fait accompli*. Even Father de la Brière, while justly indignant at the German violation of Belgian neutrality, exhibits no similar indignation at the Allied violation of Greek territory in October 1915.

There follows a discussion of the League of Nations, which is the best account of the matter in a brief compass with which I am acquainted. All kinds of interesting problems—historical, juridical, moral—emerge. Father de la Brière is moderately optimistic of the success of the League, not so much on account of its positive accomplishment as because it implies an acknowledgment of principles on which the future peace of the world depends. Admittedly its inception has been in many ways unfortunate. The cynic may see in it an effort to perpetuate injustice. It requires a particularly tough-minded moralist to admire all the conclusions of the Treaty of Versailles. Even the Mandate system, justly praised by Father de la Brière, would be more convincing, if the position of Germany had been more favourably considered. At the present time one need not be overmuch of a "good European" to feel that the substitution of Japan for Germany was a betrayal of Christian tradition. And still, although the League has conspicuously failed in the individual case, the fact that it stands for great and neglected principles and that it focuses upon offenders the moral indignation of the world, may be of sufficient value to secure for it the support of all right-thinking men.

D. O'KEEFFE

PHILOSOPHIE ECONOMIQUE. Etudes critiques sur le naturalisme. Par Joseph Vialatoux. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1932. 15fr.

LE TRAVAIL. Par Johannes Haessle. Traduit de l'allemand. Desclée De Brouwer. 1933. 20fr.

Philosophie économique and *Le Travail* are the latest additions to the *Bibliothèque française de philosophie*. Although this collection is already well known, it is only right to stress once more the high standard maintained in the score or so volumes published up

to now. The cultured spirit of Maritain, who is editor of the series, has determined the nature of the selection and established the level of achievement required for admittance. The result is that some of the best Catholic intellects of Europe have contributed of their best to make the undertaking a success. Mgr. Grabmann writes on St. Thomas, Fr. Garrigou-Lagrange on metaphysics, Carl Schmitt is represented by his *Romantisme politique*, and some of Maritain's own best works—*Théonas*, *Reflexions sur l'Intelligence*, and quite recently, *Distinguer pour Unir*—are included. The last two volumes to be published are worthy of the company which they now join. M. Vialatoux's work is a collection of four specialised studies prepared primarily as *conférences* or *leçons* for certain Semaines Sociales. They treat of economic liberalism and its *illusion matérialiste*, the idea or concept of political economy, Locke's *philosophie libérale*, and finally population and economics. It is difficult to find the right word to describe the manner of treatment. One is conscious of being in touch with a singularly distinguished, humane and cultivated mind. It is a philosopher, not a pamphleteer, who is handling sociological problems—a balanced, thoughful observer unwilling to be deceived by superficialities or to decieve his readers by facile generalities or *clichés*. He does not offer " solutions " (though one of his early works bore the title *Les données actuelles et la solution catholique du probleme de la civilisation*), nor does he tell Catholics dogmatically what they or their Governments " must " do. Instead, he tries to get his readers to think for themselves and to seek the truth, and with truth, goodness and beauty in individual and social life, and he leaves it to others to propound patent recipes for the healing of society's ills. His essay on *Economie et Population* ought to be read by those interested in the future of Ireland, and not only read but pondered on ; for its value lies as much in what it suggests as in what it says.

It is a little late in the day to be writing a review of Haessle's *Das Arbeitsethos der Kirche*, now appearing in French as *Le Travail*. It was first published in 1923, and at once took its place as the standard work on its subject. Recent writings in English have, however, revealed a complete ignorance of this as of many other Catholic German works of first-rate importance on the allied questions of property and interest. It is but one more example of the dilettante way Catholic writers in English-speaking countries are ready to produce a book or an article on social questions without taking the smallest trouble to read the standard literature on their subject. *Le Travail* is commendably brief in the portion

devoted to abstract principles, but its brevity does not prevent it being solid and profound. It is significant that the translators consider it necessary to offer an apology for the metaphysical spirit of the book, an apology which is delicately malicious : " Quelques esprits, amis de la facilité, se plaindront peut-être que le Dr. Haessle ait emprunté l'aride et laborieux chemin de la métaphysique pour aborder les questions sociales. Mais les vrais chrétiens s'en réjouiront, car ils savent que c'est le moyen le plus assuré de dépasser en générosité les intuitions tâtonnantes du sentiment." Germany has bestowed two great benefits on Catholic social sciences : a metaphysical foundation and a clear-cut distinction between sociology and economics. In four chapters of the second portion of his book Haessle deals with the moral character of labour, its social character, the rights of labour, and finally the economic character of labour. At some later date this book will be dealt with more fully in these pages. For the moment the attention of Catholic labour leaders might well be directed to Haessle's conclusions : a study of them could not but lend form and force to a Catholic programme of reform. E. J. C.

Science

THE EXPANDING UNIVERSE. By Sir Arthur Eddington, F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 3s. 6d. net.

" I DEAL with the view now tentatively held that the whole material universe of stars and galaxies of stars is dispersing ; the galaxies scattering apart so as to occupy an ever-increasing volume." In these words Sir Arthur Eddington announces his thesis. It is always refreshing to read a book by this distinguished astronomer. He does not expect one to believe everything he says, and does not pretend to dogmatise on the very speculative matters he deals with. He possesses, however, the dangerous gift of making ordinary people think that they understand a great deal more than they really do !

There are one or two points on which one would like to have Sir Arthur's definite view. For example, he tells us much about flat space and curved space, empty space and spherical space, physical space and vacuum. But one would like to have his definition of " space." Is the space he is dealing with anything more than the older " ether of space " ? In the early days of Relativity this difficulty was felt, and both Einstein himself and Sir Arthur told us that the ether was by no means done away with. We are often told that this is a metaphysical question. But why ? A clear notion of space would make everything much

more easily understood. Why should modern writers attach a new meaning to an old word? Surely it is not fair to ignore completely the views of the old scholastic philosophers, who dealt so fully with the nature of "space," and with whom Kant agreed in many points. We are given many views on space—everything in fact but a definition.

Again, the whole theory of the expansion of the universe is founded on the fact that certain lines in the spectra of spiral nebulae are shifted towards the red end. This can be explained as being due to the Doppler effect, which implies a recession of the source of light. Granting this, and with the help of a few other assumptions, the theory of the expanding universe has been built up. But it has not been shown that the recession of the nebulae is the only way in which the shifting of the lines towards the red end can be explained. For example, it has not yet been shown that the Compton effect is not applicable to ordinary light as well as to x-rays. On certain assumptions the increase of the shift in proportion to the increase of the distance of the nebulae would be accounted for without invoking the law that "cosmical repulsion" increases with the distance. In fact, there would be no need to account for any expansion at all!

The treatment of the difficulty of accounting for the beginning of the material universe is not satisfactory. If the matter now collected into the various bodies which we see around us was once distributed like a gas through "space," then there is no physical way in which, without some non-material intervention, it could have *begun* to condense or expand at any point. *Any* evolution towards differentiation would have been in complete contradiction to the laws of entropy. The author himself admits on the second last page that his treatment of this point is not satisfactory: "The beginning seems to present insuperable difficulties unless we agree to look on it as frankly supernatural."

This little book is well worth reading, even if it does present almost as many problems as there are pages in it. H. V. G.

SCIENCE AND REVELATION. By Leslie J. Walker, S.J. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 2s. 6d.

IN these four essays Father Walker discusses the bearing of modern scientific speculation on Religion. The volume, though a small one, shows evidence of wide reading and much thought. It is written evidently from the point of view of those who read the quasi-philosophical writings of such scientists as Jeans, Eddington and Julian Huxley. It is well that these writers should be supplemented by such as Fr. Walker who can apply his great learning

to the consideration of their views from the Catholic standpoint. He adopts the method of agreeing as far as possible with their scientific conclusions and showing how they are or are not in harmony with sound philosophy. Sometimes one is inclined to think that he takes these scientists too seriously. After all Jeans and the rest tell us that much, if not most, of their speculation is frankly mere speculation. We can however appreciate the object of the writer in taking up the position of a sympathetic critic, and we recommend this book very sincerely to those who follow modern scientific thought. Catholics are at times in need of a corrective in their reading; for unfortunately there are few Catholic writers on this subject. We should like to see the Essays brought out in even a cheaper edition, so that the book might be more widely circulated. H. V. G.

Books Received

ADDISON, JAMES. Life beyond Death in the Beliefs of Mankind. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).

BERDYAEV, NICHOLAS. The End of our Time. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).

BERVE, HELMUT. Geschichte der führenden Völker. I.—Von den Anfängen bis Perikles. II.—Von Perikles bis zur politischen Auflösung. (Herder, 8.50M, 11M).

BEST, R. I. The Annals of Inisfallen. Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript in Bodleian Library. With a descriptive introduction by R. I. Best and Eoin MacNeill. (Hodges Figgis).

BLOY, LEON. Lettres à Véronique. Introduction de Jacques Maritain. (Desclée De Brouwer, 13 fr. 50).

BURNS, C. DELISLE. The Horizon of Experience. Study of the Modern Mind. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).

CASSIDY, JAMES. The Old Irish Love of the Blessed Virgin. (Gill, 2/6).

CLAYTON, JOSEPH. Saint Anselm. (Bruce Publishing Co., $1.75).

CLEARY, P. S. Australia's Debt to Irish Nation-Builders. (Gill, 15/-).

COGHLAN, D. Ancient Land Tenures of Ireland. (Browne & Nolan, 10/-).

COSTE, PIERRE. Les Filles de la Charité. (Desclée De Brouwer, 12 fr.).

CREUSEN, J. The Commandment of Purity. (Museum Lessianum, 6d.).

DAVIES, JEANNIE. The Heart of the Bible. Vol. I—Literature of the Hebrew People. (Allen & Unwin, 5/-).

DE VALERA, EAMONN. Recent Speeches and Broadcasts. (Talbot Press, 6d)

EWER, MARY A. Survey of Mystical Symbolism. (S. P. C. K., 8/6).

GARRIGUET, L. La Vierge Marie. Huitieme éd. (Téqui, 15 fr.).

GHIKA, VLADIMIR. La Liturgie du Prochain. (Beauchesne, 2 fr.).

GONON, MGR. A. Christ in Gethsemani. (Cork: Franciscan Convent, 3/-).

GRANDMAISON, L. Ecrits spirituels. I—Conférences. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.).

JUNG, C. G. Modern Man in Search of a Soul. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

KIDD, B. J. The Counter-Reformation. (S. P. C. K., 8/6).

LEAHY, MAURICE. Conversions to the Catholic Church. A Symposium. (Burns Oates, 5/-).

MARITAIN JACQUES. Eléments de Philosophie. Logique. (Téqui, 20 fr.) De la Philosophie chrétienne. (Desclée De Brouwer, 10 fr.)

LEGRAND, PH. E. Saint Jean Chrysostome. Contre les Détracteurs de la Vie monastique; Exhortations à Théodore et Lettres à Olympias. 2 vols. (Gabalda, 236 pp. each).

Maritain, Raissa. Le Prince de ce Monde. (Desclée De Brouwer, pp. 23).
Mehta, J. K. Nature, Classification and Principles of Public Revenue. (Allahabad: Indian Press, pp. 58).
Metcalf, Rupert. England and Sir Horace Plunkett. Essay on Agricultural Co-operation. (Howe, 5/-).
Murphy, Gerard. Duanaire Finn. Book of the Lays of Finn. Part II. (Published for Irish Texts Society by Simpkin Marshall, 25/-).
O'Byrne, Cathal. The Gaelic Source of the Brontë Genius. (Sands, 2/6).
O'Callaghan, Jerome. The Eucharistic Triumph. (Sands, 6d.).
O'Neill, A. M. The Mystery of the Eucharist. (Gill, 5/-).
O'Shaughnessy, M. Man or Money (New York: The Author, pp. 40).
Owst, G. R. Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. (Cambridge Press, 30/-).
Patterson, Robert. The Conception of God in the Philoosphy of Aquinas. (Allen & Unwin, 21/-).
Pichon, Charles. Le Pape et la Cité du Vatican. Avec 96 photographies. (Plon, 20 fr.).
Potiron, Henri. Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant. (Tournai: Desclée, Belgas 5.60).
Roberts, H. N. The Breaking of the Bonds. (Talbot Press, 6d.).
Robinson, W. Christianity is Pacifism. (Allen & Unwin, 2/6).
Ruinart, Thierry. Mabillon. Nouvelle éd. (Desclée De Brouwer, 15 fr.).
Salter, Sir A. Framework of an Ordered Society. (Cambridge Press, 2/6).
Stock, Leo. United States Ministers to the Papal States. Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868. (Catholic University Press, $5.00)
Stockley, W. F. P. Essays in Irish Biography. (Educational Co., 6/-). Newman. Education and Ireland. (Sands, 3/6).
Turner, Cecil H. Charles de Foucauld. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Walshe, William. Bombing out the Devil. (Stockwell, 2/6).
Ward, Maisie. The English Way. Studies in English Sanctity from Bede to Newman. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
Wehrle, William. The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature. (Catholic University of America).
Williams, N. P. Northern Catholicism. Studies in the Oxford Centenary and Parallel Movements. (S. P. C. K., 7/6)
Williamson, Benedict. Doctrinal Mission of S. Thérèse of Lisieux. 2 vols. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Wouters, Ludovicus. Manuale Theolgiae Moralis. Tomus II. (Beyaert).
Young, Urban. Life of Father Ignatius Spencer, C.P. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

Annuario della Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Anno 1932-33. ("Vita e Pensiero," pp. 435).
Un Saint pour chaque jour. Juin-Juillet. 2 vols. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr. each).
Brian's Battle as it is told in the Norse Saga. (At the Sign of the Three Candles, pp. 31).
Les grands Jours de la Redemption. (Bonne Presse, 10 fr.).
Les grands Mots d'Ordre de Saint Jean de la Croix. (Desclée De Brouwer. 7 fr. 50).
Les Faits mysterieux de Beauraing. Etudes, Documents, Réponses. Par Bruno de Jésus-Marie, Etienne de Greef, Alois Janssens, Paul Van Gehuchten. (Desclée De Brouwer, 5 fr.).
Codificazione canonica orientale. Fonti. Fasc. IX-X. (Libreria Vaticana, L. 36, L. 55).
Circular Letters of the Redemptorist Generals. With Introductory Study of the Spirit of S. Alphonsus. (Bruce Publishing Co., $2.00).
Société de S. Vincent de Paul. L'Oeuvre d'Ozanam à travers le monde. (Beauchesne, 30 fr.).

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THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE.

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000
Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £640,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, ESQ., Chairman.

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ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 31st day of July, 1933.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1933, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£43,313	0	6
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	30,347	3	11
	£73,660	4	5
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	31,160	4	5
	£73,660	4	5

The Reserve Fund now stands at £640,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 17th July, 1933.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1933.

Dr. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0		By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,197,156 19 1
,, Reserve Fund	640,000 0 0		,, Investments, viz.:—	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0			War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,968,778 4 5
Less: Held by the Bank ... 43,529 0 0	506,471 0 0		Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	264,504 11 3
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,798,599 12 6			7,430,439 14 9
,, Sundry Agents	30,963 15 11		,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,910,672 8 11
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	6,620 15 5		,, Sundry Agents	3,505 13 11
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £73,660 4 5			,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	201,697 10 8
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	63,660 4 5			
	£13,546,315 8 3			£13,546,315 8 3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1933.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	107,951 15 8	By Balance from last Account ...	30,347 3 11
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Contingencies	151,264 16 2
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1933, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0			
,, Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 31,160 4 5	63,660 4 5		
	£181,612 0 1		£181,612 0 1

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1933, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant. Auditor.

DUBLIN, 17th July, 1933.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN,
CHARLES H. O'CONOR,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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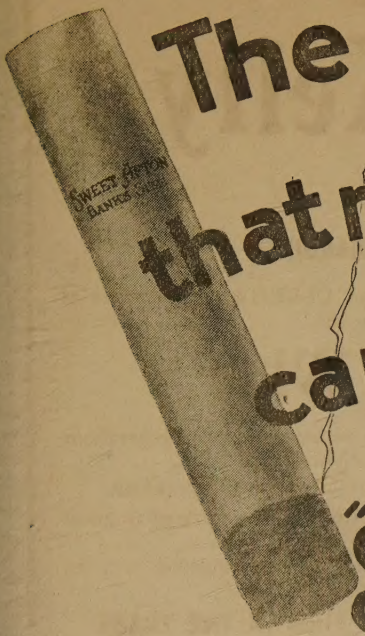

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